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THE
STRUTT FAMILY
OF TERLING
1650—1873

By
THE HON. CHARLES R. STRUTT

Privately Printed, 1939

THE
STROUT FAMILY
OF VERMONT
1650-1871

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Terling Place

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MITCHELL HUGHES AND CLARKE
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Springfield Mill and the Mill House



Moulsham Mill and the Mill House



WEST SEPT. 1861



WEST SEPT. 1861

CHAPTER I.

THE surname of Strutt is not widely spread over England. In the past it has chiefly been found on both sides of the Essex-Suffolk and Derbyshire-Nottinghamshire borders, though, as is to be expected, the name occasionally reappears in London and other parts of the country. The earliest reference yet found is to a Thomas, son of John Strutt, who was living at Colchester in 1227. Towards the end of the eighteenth century spelling became standardised; before that the name is sometimes found spelt with one final "t," though more often with two. It is impossible to say with certainty whether all Strutts are descended from a common ancestor, but it seems fairly probable that those in each of the two areas mentioned are of a common stock. Unlike families with descriptive or occupational surnames, Strutt has no obvious meaning, and this suggests that the different groups of Strutts have a common origin, but it is not likely that a link between them will ever be found.

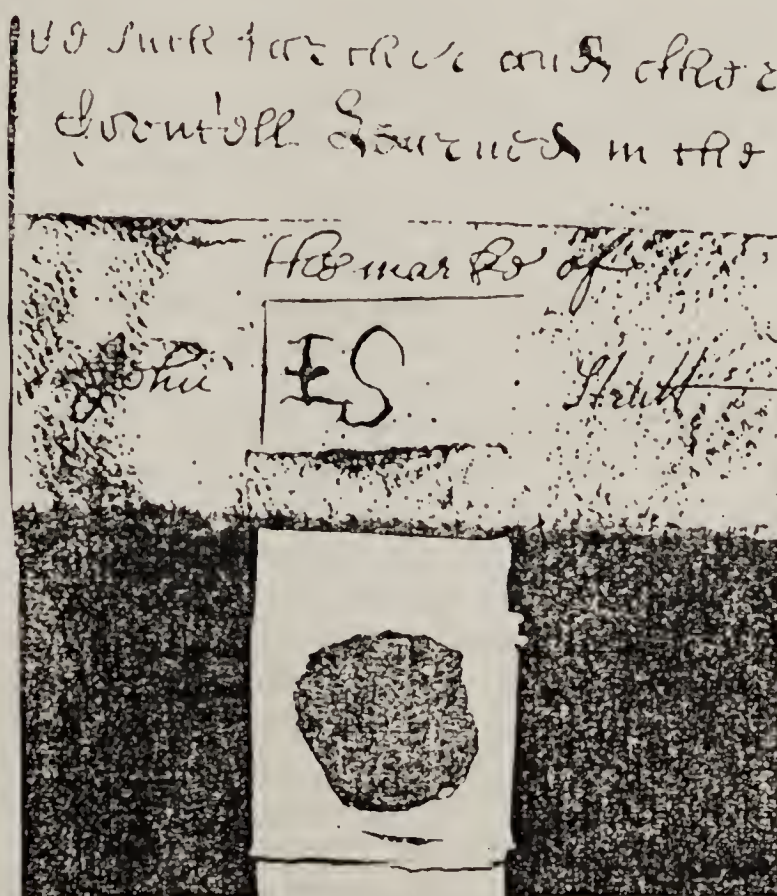
Lord Rayleigh's family is of the Essex-Suffolk group. In the past there have been various traditions in the family about their forbears. A thirteenth century Swiss patriot named Godfried Strutz de Winkelred, Sir Denner Strutt, Bart., and his supposed brother, a Rector of Faulkbourne, have all at different times been claimed as direct ancestors. There is not a shred of evidence for the Swiss. Sir Denner, though at least an Essex man, is not a very serious candidate either, for he left no male heir; but he was firmly believed in by the family in the nineteenth century—their coat of arms is based on his, and Col. Strutt paid for the restoration of his elaborate tomb in Little Warley Church. The Rector of Faulkbourne, the Rev. Richard Strutt, was not a near relation of Sir Denner's, much less a brother, and investigation has shown that he too cannot be a direct ancestor of Lord Rayleigh, though it still remains possible that he may have been a close collateral relation.

To come now to facts; the first of Lord Rayleigh's direct ancestors whose name we know was John Strutt (—1694), a corn miller, who must have been born some time before 1650, and is first found settled at Springfield, near Chelmsford in Essex, in 1667, in which year his eldest son, John, was born. Between 1667 and 1694, when he died, it may be presumed that John Strutt had the lease of the water mill at Springfield or that at Moulsham, possibly both. In favour of his residence at Springfield during this period is the fact that he had all his children baptised in Springfield Church, and that he bought Springfield Mill outright in 1692, the conveyance still being among the title deeds of the mill. He is, however, described as of Moulsham in his Will.

He married Jane, daughter of Jonathian Barnard, a fishmonger of Chelmsford, and left by her three sons, John, Thomas and Samuel, and one daughter, Sarah. John and Thomas founded the two main branches of the family; Samuel died unmarried in 1695, aged twenty-two, and Sarah married Thomas Thwaites in 1699, but died a year later in giving birth to a son, Thomas,

The earliest Strutt relic that still remains in the family is a heavy silver tankard made in 1673, with two letters I and the letter S pricked on the handle. These initials are presumably those of John and Jane Strutt, for an I was commonly written instead of a J in those days. All the evidence points to this being the "silver tanker (sic) which was my father's," left by John Strutt of Newhouse in 1736 to his elder son with the express injunction that the latter should not sell or exchange it, but pass it on in due course to his male heir. This heir was John Strutt, M.P., of Terling Place, who evidently valued the tankard highly, for he had his Arms, impaling his wife's (Goodday), engraved upon it shortly after his marriage. The tankard was in his possession at his death in 1816, but what became of it after that is not known; it cannot be identified in the heirloom list of 1845, and was certainly not at Terling Place in 1873. It reappeared at Messrs. Christie's auction rooms in 1938, and was bought back by Lord Rayleigh from a private collector who could throw no light on its past beyond that it had been bought from a dealer some years previously.

John Strutt died in 1694 and is buried at St. Mary's, Chelmsford (now the Cathedral), but a search has failed to identify the tombstone which might have revealed the date of his birth, and so given a clue to the tracing of his ancestry.



MARK OF JOHN STRUTT ON CONVEYANCE OF
SPRINGFIELD MILL, 1692

In his Will dated 1694, now in the Essex and Herts Archdeaconry collections at Somerset House, he describes his son John as already provided for, and leaves him £10. He leaves his wife a life interest in Springfield Mill, making her responsible for the maintenance and education of the younger

children during their minority, the mill to go to his second son Thomas at her death. His Will shows that he was unlettered to the point of not being able to sign his own name.

The main narrative will trace the fortunes of John Strutt (the second) and his descendants, the elder branch of the family, but a digression will here be made to say something of the younger branch founded by Thomas Strutt of Springfield. The chief source of information for this is the life of Joseph Strutt, the antiquary, by the late Miller Christy, Esquire, which was never published, but of which two typescript copies exist, one at the British Museum, the other at Terling Place.

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS STRUTT, previously mentioned, married Elizabeth Young in 1718, and died in 1729, leaving, with other children, a son Thomas. This Thomas (the second) of Springfield Mill, was born there in 1722. After his father's death, he, on the 25th March, 1738, with the consent and approval of his uncle John Strutt, executor under his father's Will, bound himself apprentice for six years to John Ingold of Hoe Mill; this mill, though no longer in use, still stands on the river between Chelmsford and Maldon, and is a picturesque building, probably looking much as it did two hundred years ago. In appropriate romantic style the apprentice fell in love with his master's elder daughter Elizabeth, and the two were married in 1743. After his marriage Thomas Strutt set up in business on his own account at Springfield Mill. In 1750 he went on a voyage to the East for the sake of his health, but on his return journey after visiting Constantinople, he caught smallpox at Smyrna, and died of it at sea.

Two sons survived him. The elder, John (1745-1784), sold Springfield Mill in 1780 for £1,100, and thus broke its connection with the family which had lasted nearly ninety years. He became a fashionable physician, living in Derby Street, Westminster, and it was to his house that the great Earl of Chatham was carried after his fit in the House of Lords in April 1778. "Mr. Strutt prepared an apartment for him at his house where he was carried as soon as he could be safely removed."¹ His two children did not survive infancy, and he himself died at the early age of forty. His widow, Mary (1749-1839), later married the Rev. John Eaton, Rector of Fairsted (1751-1806). The Hon. Mrs. Drummond writes in 1873: "she was known to my excellent grandparents in some way who pitied her as a beautiful young widow and were very kind to her, she having little means. At Terling she met Dr. Eaton and was married to him. After his death she went to live at Clipping Hill, and there it was that I first remember her. Mrs. Eaton has now been dead these thirty years I think. She was a great Writer, a great Politician, rather sentimental and certainly very grateful for all the kindness she received from my grandparents etc. We three were Young and often very much amused with her and she liked us all very much." She left some land at Fairsted as well as some small articles of furniture to Col. Strutt at her death in 1839. She put up a mural monument to her Strutt father-in-law, and mother-in-law in Springfield Church.

The younger son, Joseph Strutt (1749-1802), became well known as an antiquary, artist and engraver. He is noticed in the Dictionary of National Biography, and the following account of his career is largely taken from that article.

Strutt was educated at King Edward's School, Chelmsford, and at the age of fourteen was apprenticed to the well-known engraver, William Wynne

¹ Letter from Lord Campden to the Duke of Grafton, 5th April, 1778.

Ryland. In 1770, when he had been less than a year a student at the Royal Academy, he carried off one of the first silver medals awarded, and in the following year he took one of the first gold medals. To this early period of his career belongs the picture which used formerly to be the reredos at Terling Church, and which now hangs on the west wall there. It was commissioned by John Strutt for £21 at a time when he was making extensive repairs and improvements to the Church.

JOSEPH STRUTT TO JOHN STRUTT OF TERLING.

Stafford Row. June 6, 1770.

Sir,

I have looked over the Testament and of all the subjects (particularly the Gospel part) I find none more suitable than the bringing the tribute money to Christ. It has not (that ever I have seen) been done yet for the purpose, and the strong contrast of character afford a more extensive plan than any both for my improvement and for striking the lookers on.

The Majesty of Christ, the eager attention of his disciples and the dissatisfaction of the Pharisees join'd with the envy and despite at the greatness of Christ's reply (for I shall chuse that point of time where Christ has just given that answer that confounded the demanders rendring their design abortive and struck with admiration all those that heard him particularly those that were inclined to believe in him) all these join'd together will I believe make a piece suitable and afford as great a variety of characters as almost any subject. If this should be agreeable to you on the favour of a line I shall begin this or any other piece which you not approving this shall chuse.

I am Sir, your most obliged servant,

JOSEPH STRUTT."

P.S. Pray Sir present my compliments to Mrs. Strutt and to the young gentlemen.

In 1771 Strutt became a student in the reading-room of the British Museum, whence he drew the materials for most of his antiquarian works. His first book *The Royal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England* appeared in 1773. For it he drew and engraved from ancient manuscripts representations of kings, costumes, armour, seals, and other subjects of interest, this being the first work of the kind published in England. He spent the greater part of his life in similar labours, his art becoming little more than a handmaid to his antiquarian and literary researches. Between 1774 and 1776 he published the three volumes of his *Manners Customs etc. of the People of England*, and in 1777-78 the two volumes of his *Chronicle of England*, both large quarto works, profusely illustrated, and involving a vast amount of research. At this period he resided partly in London, partly at Chelmsford, but made frequent expeditions for purposes of antiquarian study. In 1774, on his marriage, he took a house in Duke Street, Portland Place. For seven years after the death of his wife, in 1778, he devoted his attention to painting.

After 1785 Strutt resumed his antiquarian and literary researches, and brought out his *Biographical Dictionary of Engravers*, the basis of all later works of the kind.

In 1790 his health having failed and his affairs having become involved, mainly through the dishonesty of a relation, Strutt took up his residence

at Bacon's Farm, Bramfield, Hertfordshire, where he lived in the greatest seclusion, carrying on his work as an engraver. He also gathered the material for more than one posthumously published work of fiction.

In 1795, having paid his debts and his health having improved, Strutt returned to London and resumed his researches. Almost immediately he brought out his *Dresses and Habits of the English People*, probably the most valuable of his works. This was followed by his well known *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, which has been frequently reprinted.

After this Strutt (now in his 52nd year), commenced a romance entitled *Queenhoo Hall*. It was intended to illustrate the manners, customs and habits of the people of England in the fifteenth century. He did not live to finish it. After his death the incomplete manuscript was placed by the first John Murray in the hands of Walter Scott, who added a final chapter. Scott admits in the general preface to the later editions of *Waverley* that his associations with Strutt's romance largely suggested to him the publication of his own work.

Strutt married in 1774 his first cousin Anne, daughter of Barwell Blower of Bocking, Essex. He died in 1802, and was buried at St. Andrews, Holborn. His portrait in crayons by Ozias Humphrey is at the National Portrait Gallery.

Although the amount of Strutt's work as an engraver is small, apart from that appearing in his books, it is of exceptional merit and is still highly esteemed. In the study of those branches of archæology which he followed he was a pioneer, and all later work on the same lines has been built on the foundations he laid.

Strutt left two sons. The elder, Joseph Strutt (1775-1833), eventually became librarian to the Duke of Newcastle, and left numerous descendants.

Strutt's younger son, William Thomas Strutt (1777-1850), held a position in the Bank of England (obtained for him by Genl. W. G. Strutt), but won a reputation as a miniature painter. His son William Strutt and grandson Alfred W. Strutt carried on the artistic profession to the third and fourth generations. Some of his descendants are now living in London.

Joseph Strutt, as has been said, was seldom out of financial trouble, and his artistic talents did not prevent him dying a comparatively poor man.

"To relate the story of my life," he says of himself,¹ "is but to expose my own imbecility. I am in truth the son of misfortune, but the evils that I have to complain of are from my own imprudence. I am the dupe of everyone who will take the pains to make me such; and truly I think that neither time nor experience will teach me sufficiency of wisdom to encounter the deceptions of mankind."

"I have done; for why should I take up your time with a tiresome tale of sorrow? For there are no uncommon incidents that mark my history, but the perplexities in which I have been involved are such as have, possibly, happened without much variation to a thousand others. Yet to me a foolish, fond, old man ill-read in the history of the great world, and knowing little of men at large, and of their manners, these trifles appear, I doubt not, much magnified. I have no more to say!"

¹ From the *Old Man's Tale* in his novel "*Queenhoo Hall*." It is quite certainly autobiographical.

CHAPTER III.

To return now to the main branch of the family ; John Strutt (1666-1736), the second of the name, owned the lease of Moulsham Mill, the freehold of which belonged to the Mildmays of Moulsham Hall. There is indirect evidence that the first leasehold term was for twenty-one years from 1693-1714. During some alterations to the Mill in 1891, the builders (according to the *Essex County Chronicle* of 29th May, 1891), whilst excavating "came across an immense oak beam at the bottom of the foundation at the back of the mill. This beam bears in old letters and figures the following : **John Strutt, Miller, Millwright, built this mill, Bishop's Hall, Anno 1716.**" The mill referred to in this inscription was pulled down many years ago, and the present mill was built on its foundations. Another relic of his time is an "erratic" glacial boulder about 4 feet long by three feet broad, and roughly 18 inches thick, which lies by the roadside just outside the chief entrance to the mill, and has evidently served as a mounting block ; cut into its top, which is fairly flat, is the inscription : **John Strutt. March ye 29th 1712.**

Will: Strutt. This William Strutt was the second of John Strutt's sons, and became apprenticed in 1713 to a loriner, that is a maker of horses' harness. Some of his school books are now at Terling Place, but he is not mentioned in his father's will, so presumably he died young and unmarried.

In 1691 John Strutt married, at Broomfield, Anne (1671-1751), daughter of William Surrah, a yeoman farmer of Felsted, and his wife Anne Gibbs. This Mrs. William Surrah was a small heiress, and inherited some property in High Easter, which belonged to her father Edward Gibbs ; at her death in 1724, Mrs. John Strutt came into two-thirds of this property. The farm of Blunts in High Easter still belongs to Lord Rayleigh, and was at one time thought to be the land which had been longest in the family, but as a matter of fact, the Strutts were in possession of some of their Terling property four years earlier. The High Easter land has, however, passed to the present Lord Rayleigh by direct inheritance and without sale for about two hundred and seventy years.

There are no letters or diaries belonging to this early period of the family history, so that not much is known of the life and character of John Strutt, but he must have been a successful man of business, for, by the year 1726, at the age of fifty-seven, he was able to give up milling and retire to the parish of Terling, some eight miles away. The reasons which led him to choose Terling for his home are not known, but it is probably safe to say that his descendants have never regretted his choice. He bought the farm called Simon Collins in 1720 ; a few years later on the site of the old farm buildings he built Newhouse, which is approximately dated by a newspaper of the year 1726 recently found pasted at the back of a cupboard. In 1727 John

Strutt was granted a faculty pew in the South aisle of Terling Church "because he hath an estate and an handsome house in the parish," and he was a Churchwarden the same year. Finally, the parish tythe accounts shew that he started farming in the year 1725 with livestock consisting of only six steers and five heifers; but six years later he had the most valuable collection of livestock in the whole parish. It is noteworthy that this active practical interest in farming has been kept alive in each subsequent generation of the family without a break to the present day. John Strutt bought Porridgepot Hall, Norrells and Three Ashes. He died in 1736, and is buried in the Churchyard at Terling.

John Strutt had thirteen children baptised, but only five are mentioned in his will, and presumably the others all died young. Some of their school books dating from the first decade of the eighteenth century are still in existence, and these show that the education of the miller's children was not thought complete without a fairly advanced knowledge of Latin. To his elder son John Strutt, third of the name, he left all his property in Terling, including Newhouse; to Joseph Strutt, his second son, he left his property in and round Chelmsford, and his daughters Anne, Sarah and Mary each received a money legacy.

Little is known of John Strutt the third (1695-1758), beyond the fact that he was a successful miller. The Borough of Maldon Inrollment Book contains several entries from 1706 until 1748, in which he is described as being of Maldon, but about this time he must have left, for an entry in his rent book proves that he occupied Hoe Mills in Woodham Walter (bought 1739 for £420: sold 1776, for £2,500) from 1747 until 1752. The clue to his later residence is given by his will dated 1755, and his tombstone, in both of which he is described as of Wickham Bishops.

There is reason to think that the earlier Strutts may have had cavalier sympathies; at all events the library at Terling Place contains a book entitled "The works of that great monarch and glorious martyr, King Charles the First," printed at the Hague two years after his execution (presumably banned in England in Cromwell's time) with the signature J. Strut (sic) on the flyleaf. In view of the known illiteracy of the first John Strutt, this book probably belonged to his son (1667-1736). But whatever may have been the political sympathies of the family in those early days they came out strongly on the Hanoverian side at the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745.

JOSEPH STRUTT OF MOULSHAM TO JOHN STRUTT OF WICKHAM

28 December, 1745.

Bro^r.

I have been at Moulsham Hall and made the best enquiry I could about the Militia and am inform'd there is no intent of its being raised, but the subscription role being sent up to London, there has been no opportunity to subscribe for you, nor I do not hear when they will be return'd, by which means you will have a better opportunity to be satisfied about it. I wish you and my sister health to enjoy the pleasures of the season, and am

Y^r. Affectionate Bro^r.

Jos Strutt.



ANNE SURRAH, MRS. JOHN STRUTT, 1671-1751



Newhouse

Both he and his brother and nephew subscribed their names to a loyal resolution of the gentry of Essex to "support our present constitution in Church and State with our lives and fortunes." Incidentally, as there is no evidence that John Strutt ever married, the sister referred to in the above letter was presumably either Mary or Sarah Strutt, one of whom may have been keeping house for him.

From his account books it appears that he allowed his mother to live on at Newhouse after his father's death until her own death on 13th December, 1751, letting to her "The house and orchard with three fields by indulgence at only seven pounds a year." After 1751 Newhouse was occupied by John Strutt's widowed sister Anne until her death in 1769 (buried at Terling). She had married John Marriott or Marrett at Little Leighs in 1719, and had two daughters, Sarah and Anne. John Strutt died in 1758, and is buried in the Churchyard at Terling. He added largely to the family estates in Terling and elsewhere, and at his death almost all his property passed back to what then became the main line of the family in the persons of his brother and nephew.

This brother, Joseph (1701-1772), lived all his life at Moulsham Mill House; he was granted twenty-one year leases of the mill and sixteen acres of land by various members of the Mildmay family in 1714, 1735 and 1756, the rent rising from £50 and 2 capons to £64. He rebuilt the mill and the millhouse about 1765, but he was certainly not actively engaged in milling there after 1759, as he was then subletting the mill for £80 a year, and in 1767 raised the rent to £119 so as partially to reimburse himself for the cost of the rebuilding. In 1726 he married Mary, only daughter of Robert Young of Little Dunmow. The Young coat of arms appears in conjunction with the Strutt arms on several pieces of plate at Terling Place, and on this evidence it would seem that the Dunmow Youngs were of the same family as the Youngs of Writtle,¹ but the relationship, if any, has not been traced. Joseph and Mary Strutt's rent and housekeeping expenses averaged about £700 a year between 1753 and 1757. This included pocket money and such items as Excise tax of £4 on Mrs. Strutt's "Shaise," as well as expenses incurred on visits to London and Bath. Miller Christy says that he was a prominent Chelmsford man and an active County magistrate. He was also a keen farmer. An intimate glimpse of the family at Moulsham is given in a letter written by Joseph Strutt, the antiquary, to Miss Ann Blower, whom he afterwards married.

Chelmsford. November 8, 1771.

Dearest Nancy,

I arrived here at about a quarter before twelve o'clock the day before yesterday; and after settling what I had to do at my lodgings I went down to Mr. Strutt's, to enquire for my box of things that had been left there. I was forced to stay dinner, and Mr. John Strutt and his lady from Terling were there. When Mr. Joe Strutt came in from his garden on his son's arrival, he, seeing me, said "Well, Joe have you brought the lady off? I think you have staid long enough."

I answered I had not been well, which prevented me some time from returning.

¹ See "*Visitations of Essex*, 1634."

So, he having something to say to Mr. John Strutt, our conversation was interrupted. Soon after sitting down again, Mr. Joe Strutt asked me how the lady did.

I said "What lady?"

"Why, Miss Blower," says he. "Have you not brought her off yet?"

I answered, "Dear Sir, let me beg an explanation of your meaning before I give an answer. I must say I am quite at a loss to know how to reply till I know what is your meaning."

"Oh Joe," says Mrs. Strutt, "how can you pretend to be ignorant of this matter? You must know something of a post-chaise, and going twice in one week to visit a young lady."

"I must first," says I, "know who this young lady is, and where she lives, tho' I do not remember going twice in one week to visit any young lady."

"Who she is! Why," says Mr. Joe Strutt, "who should it be but Miss Blower, your flame?"

"There," says Mrs. Strutt, "Mr. Strutt has sufficiently explained the matter."

I answered: "I do not, on my honour, remember I ever did go twice in one week to visit Miss Blower."

"Nay," says Mrs. Strutt, "I only heard it from report."

"I do sincerely assure you, then, madam," says I "that report is both absurd and false."

"I heard of this but last week," says Mrs. John Strutt, "but it was assured me for a truth."

"Now," says Mr. John Strutt, "I'll tell you what I have heard. I that live at Terling—at such an out-of-the-way place as Terling—I hear a little news now and then."

"Indeed," says Mrs. Strutt, "you have no reason to call it an out-of-the-way place."

"Indeed but it is," says he, "and quite away from the Great Road-side."

"Well," says Mr. Joe Strutt, "what have you heard?"

"Why," says he, "I was told that, as post-chaises and going twice a week was too expensive and might be inconvenient, the lady very kindly, to prevent all this, paid the visit to you" (addressing himself to me) "herself."

"Now then, Sir," said I, "it *does* well become me to answer. The person who hath said this is either a very foolish or a very malicious person. He should have made—nay—he *ought* to—a further inquiry into the matter, ere he handled it so exceedingly stupidly and erroneously." I then proceeded to give them the whole truth of the case, which is needless to repeat here.

"I," says Mrs. Strutt, "never supposed it was otherways."

"To render those accounts still more absurd," says I, "I shall make no scruple to tell you that even my wedding day has been fix'd for me."

"Well," says Mrs. Strutt, "that crowns the whole! I have not yet heard of that."

"But, without doubt, Mr. Joseph," says Mrs. Joe Strutt, "the day *is* fix'd?"

"To answer your question as fully as I am able," said I, "I shall assure you, at present for some time, I have very little thoughts for matrimony; and till I am well settled in the world, I can never have any thoughts of fixing the day."

"Well," says Mrs. Strutt, "that confirms my former opinion of your prudence."

"I hope, Madam," reply'd I, "I shall never give you any occasion of altering so favourable an opinion of me, either by my choice of a wife or the time of my marriage."

"To be sure," says Mrs. Strutt, "as to your choice, I know nobody that either can or does say anything upon that head, but in your favour, I have heard nobody disprove of it."

So I did freely acknowledge the sincere regard I entertain for Nancy Blower. Here the conversation ended and dinner came on.

After dinner Mr. Strutt fill'd his glass and toasted Miss Blower, which was drunk round with general satisfaction and approbation, and several merry jokes pass'd.

"Oh ho!", says one, "when he went first to Bocking, he was to stay but two or three days, and he could not away again for a whole fortnight."

"Ay!", says another, "the reason is all come out."

Then Mr. Joe Strutt had at me again and was very desirous of having a sight of your portrait, and desired me to draw it. I told him I had it not, and could not draw it unless the original were present.

"Oh you sly fox," says Mrs. Strutt, "if the original were present, we would not thank you for your copy."

"Oh," says Mr. John Strutt, "give him a pencil. I'll answer for it the resemblance is so engraven on his heart he cannot fail of making a likeness."

So here at last ended our discourse, and the company went to quadrille, and I to my lodgings.

I have said so much and spun out my letter to such a length that I have only room to assure you that my sincere affection is forever fix'd on you, and the uniting of our hearts by the most friendly tie is all that is left me to wish for. Rest assured, dear Girl, I am and always shall be

Your sincere and affectionate lover.

Joseph Strutt.

At the time this letter was written, Joseph Strutt had just got over a very serious illness, as the following letters from the antiquary to his brother, Dr. John Strutt, show.

5 May, 1771.

"I am exceedingly sorry I have such extreme ill news to communicate to you : Mr. Joe Strutt is dying, and every hour is expected to be his last. Dr. Gower has given him over and declares there is not the least shadow of hope of his recovery. Poor gentleman, t'is very sudden! He was taken [ill] but Wednesday night. I should have wrote to you before, but I still waited to hear if there wd. not be any change for the better ; but alas all my hopes were disappointed, and if he lives this night out 'twill be more than is expected."

Chelmsford. May 21, 1771.

Dear Brother,

You may indeed be surprised at not hearing from me, particularly as I told you our good friend was so bad. I can assure you I did not forget you but waited expecting every day to hear he was either better or worse. But 'tis the most extraordinary case that perhaps ever was heard of ; for he has lain now three weeks without any alterations (except very trivial indeed) either for the better or the worse, and in the very situation I before described to you—that is, not expected to outlive the night when he is generally the most restless. I am in great hopes that, from his lying so long, his illness may at last take a favourable turn and he recover . . .

Tis' impossible to describe the distressed situation of the whole family.

I am, dear Brother,

Yours most affectionately,

J. STRUTT.

Nevertheless he recovered from this illness and survived until the 29th March, 1772. He is buried in the family vault at Terling. His widow went to live at West Ham, and afterwards at Park Street, Westminster, where she died on March 10th, 1795, aged eighty-four, and was buried, at her express wish, in the East cloister of Westminster Abbey.

Here is a rental of Joseph Strutt's estates at his death :—

WOODHAM FERRERS.		£	£
Woodham Hall		125	
Burketts		45	
Cock & Allens Hill		76	
Bell Inn		12	
Leighams		16	
Nuttals		30	
Woods		45	
The Manour		16	
		—	365
CHIGNAL.			
Britains			48
TERLING.			
Three Ashes		62	
Newhouse land		28	
Newhouse		20	
Ringers		60	
„ Manour		3	
Loys		100	
Great Hooks		25	
Sparrows		50	
Scarlets		50	
Leith Fields.		38	
Warners		16	
Woodlands		29	
		—	481
CHELMSFORD.			
Woolpack		45	
A house		15	
		—	60
WALTHAM GREAT.			
Outgates		25	
Green End		57	
Cottage, Lane House.		2	
		—	84
HIGH EASTER.			
Blunts		68	
Cottage		1	
Blakes		25	
		—	94
GOOD EASTER.			
Gate House			65
			—
			£1,197

His son, John, adds :

" Besides the above, as residuary legatee I had in money six thousand one hundred and thirty four pounds 12/9½, and the timber on the estate was very considerable—sufficient to make the money ten thousand pounds. And I had of him all his life from three to five thousand pounds."

Joseph Strutt had a daughter Elizabeth who married the Rev. Dr. Foote Gower, M.A., M.D., F.S.A., a man of considerable talent, who is the subject of an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It is thought worthwhile to give a brief sketch of his career. Dr. Foote Gower was a son of Foote Gower, physician, of Chester, where he was born about 1737. He was educated at Brazenose College, Oxford. After his marriage he came to live at Chelmsford, where he practised medicine, residing in an old house still standing, known as Guy Harlings. In 1761 he was presented by his brother-in-law, John Strutt, to the livings of Chignal St. James and Mashbury, two adjacent parishes a few miles from Chelmsford. He was a zealous antiquary, an intimate of Joseph Strutt's, and carried on (1765-1775) a voluminous correspondence, now in the British Museum, with Richard Gough on antiquarian matters. His letters show that he made extensive collections towards a history of the Romans in Essex; that he contemplated bringing out a new edition of Dr. John Horsley's *Britannia Romana*; and that he embarked on many other similar projects. His attention was, however, chiefly given to the production of an extensive History of Cheshire, based on a large amount of material collected by his father, but this work was never published. Gower was a man of undoubted ability, but appears to have been very dilatory. His name would now be well remembered if he had carried out the half only of all he planned. He died in 1780. By his wife, Elizabeth Strutt, he had three sons, and a daughter.

CHAPTER IV.

JOSEPH and Mary Strutt had an only son John (1727-1816), fourth of the name, who was baptised at Chelmsford in November 1727, and educated at Felsted School. According to his own account he was not an industrious pupil. In 1814, at the age of eighty-seven, he writes to his grandson :

“ Allow me to say a few words respecting yourself, and first I must mention that my father and uncle by a mistaken indulgence connived at my misspending the early part of my days by not keeping me close to my books by which I lost the opportunity of the requisite improvement. When I began to reflect, and that too late to recover, I have ever since most seriously lamented finding myself, when in company with well instructed persons, unequal to go with them in conversation respecting books. Horses, dogs and field sports, with Country and Town amusements engrossed my early years to my great sorrow. You perceive the cause of my stating my own inability, hoping and entreating you may not fall into an error alike irrecoverable.”

He must have delivered himself in the same sense to Bamber Gascoyne, who tries to console him in the following letter (undated) :

“ Believe me, you mistake yourself when you doubt your judgment ; Education might have given you refinement to have entertained or convinced others, but never could have added strength to your mind which nature has made sufficiently competent, and you abuse her when you are diffident ; look but at those to whom you give way and see if education has taught them more prudence in their actions, more meaning in their expressions and more justice in their thought. You have but little reason to lament what you have lost if you will be confident in what you have got.”

His ambitions were shown at an early age. On being asked what profession he proposed to follow he is said to have answered that he intended to be a gentleman, and that his father and uncle must find him the means.¹ This they ultimately did. Nevertheless, in 1746 he was apprenticed as a miller to his uncle John Strutt, and lived with him at Maldon. In 1753 he bought Beleigh Mill and the Millhouse (sold again in 1777), but it is doubtful whether he did much milling himself, and from now on we hear no more of the trade with which the Strutt family had been connected for so long.

On 17th July, 1756, he married at Strelley in Nottinghamshire, Anne (1732-1814), daughter of the Rev. William Goodday, who was rector of that parish, and performed the ceremony. The Gooddays were an old Essex family, some of their ancestors having lived at Pentlow, and possibly they still had friends or relations in the county at whose house the young couple may have met. At that time it was undoubtedly a good marriage from John Strutt's point of view, and improved his social position, while Mr. Goodday probably felt that his daughter might do worse than marry a pushing young miller with good expectations.

¹ Told by Arthur Goodday of Newhouse, one of the many sons of the Rev. William Goodday, vicar of Terling.



John Strutt Esq^r M.P.

JOHN STRUTT, M.P., 1727-1816

was pulled down. The site chosen for the new house (the present Terling Place) was some hundreds of feet to the South of the old one, and the architect was John Johnson.¹

T. B. BRAMSTON OF SKREENS TO JOHN STRUTT. (undated)

"I do now think I have done your business in the architect way. One Johnson in Berners Street, Oxford Road. I intend he shall be my man, and from the account I have had of him I was half inclined to send him down to Terling at a venture, but more of this when we meet; only one word now: he is exceedingly honest, *cheap* and ingenious—what would you more?"

The first brick was laid by his father Joseph Strutt on 30th March, 1772, just two months before the latter's death, and John Strutt and his wife had a picnic dinner in the house on Christmas day of the same year. He notes, "The offices to the new house being nearly finished we made the house-keeper's room with some bedchambers in the attic our habitation, and entered on them Friday, 26th November, 1773." In January 1781, he concludes that the total cost of building Terling Place is £6,045 10s. 5½d. This would seem to include the fittings and some of the furniture. The house as it then stood consisted of the central block of the present house, together with offices and stables on the north side. These were pulled down later when the wings were made. The front door was then on the south side of the house, and a drive ran across the park coming out on to the road not far from Terling Hall. In hot summers the grass burns a darker brown along the course of this old drive, showing up clearly where it used to run.

Turning now to John Strutt's public life; in 1759 he was appointed to a captaincy in the West Essex Militia on the first raising of the Militia throughout the kingdom, and was afterwards repeatedly pressed to accept the command of that regiment, but declined. In 1762 he became a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate. His career was so much influenced by his old schoolfellow and lifelong friend, Bamber Gascoyne, that it is worth saying something about the latter. He was the son of Sir Crisp Gascoyne, a successful merchant and Lord Mayor of London (the subject of an article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which also gives a short sketch of his son's career), who married a Miss Bamber. From his father Bamber Gascoyne inherited the estate of Bifrons in Barking, and from his mother the estate of Childwall, on the outskirts of Liverpool. He was sent to school at Felsted, and there began the intimate friendship with John Strutt which lasted until death. Gascoyne was a member of the House of Commons from 1751 to 1786, and represented Maldon from 1761 to 1763. From the very earliest period of the letters still in existence John Strutt was taking an interest in politics, and during the years preceding his entry into active political life Gascoyne was his regular correspondent from London on all matters of current public interest. In the middle of the eighteenth century the daily newspaper was quite a new institution, and the average countryman who wished to keep abreast of

¹ The son of labouring parents, by his industry and ability as an architect he raised himself to great affluence and then unfortunately became a partner in a bank in Bond Street which failed. He lost everything and at an advanced age had to retire to a poor-house where he died.

current affairs was still to a great extent dependent on the news-letters of friends in London. Gascoyne supplied these, and there are great numbers of them still at Terling Place, giving detailed accounts of topical events inside and outside Parliament. He was John Strutt's confidant on every kind of subject, and at various times borrowed money from him to meet pressing debts. After his death, his Liverpool property became very valuable, and was ultimately inherited by his granddaughter Frances Gascoyne, who married the First Marquis of Salisbury. Thus by a coincidence Bamber Gascoyne was a direct ancestor of Evelyn, Lady Rayleigh. There is a half-length portrait of him at Terling Place.

To return to John Strutt, he represented Maldon in three Parliaments between 1774 and 1790. As early as 1331 Maldon was returning two members to Parliament, and continued to do so until 1867 when, in common with a group of boroughs with under 8,000 inhabitants, it was cut down to one member; finally in 1885 its representation as a borough was abolished, and the Maldon division of the County of Essex came into existence. Until the Reform Act of 1832, the right of election was vested in the freemen of Maldon who were scattered all over the United Kingdom, though naturally the majority lived in Essex, and many in the borough itself. The reason for this unusually wide dispersion of the electors was that, according to the usage and custom of the borough, freedom was acquired by the sons of a freeman, whether born within or without the borough, by marriage with the daughter of a freeman if the wife chose to confer the franchise, and by apprenticeship to a freeman. This is what was meant when Maldon was referred to as a "county interest"; for, a candidate fighting an election in those days was well advised to call on and make himself personally agreeable to his supporters scattered about the county, and also in London, if he was to persuade them to go all the way to Maldon and vote for him. Such a franchise system obviously did not lend itself to a one-day poll if a fair proportion of the electorate were to vote, and so we find that in those days the poll might remain open up to a legal maximum of fifteen days. After the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, this system came to end. The borough of Maldon was then enlarged by the annexation of Heybridge, all the freemen outside a radius of seven miles were disenfranchised and about 150 £10 householders received the vote. The net result of the Act was to diminish the number of voters very considerably; thus in 1826 no fewer than 3,113 freemen recorded their votes, whereas in 1837 the total was only 876.

In 1774 Maldon, with this comparatively large electorate, was no pocket borough, though a long purse was no doubt an advantage. An election was an open and personal affair in which feeling ran very high at times, and on this small political stage there was plenty of intrigue and jockeying for position. Highly developed local party organizations did not exist, anyone might be nominated as a candidate, and when dissolutions of Parliament were in the wind there was much speculation about the names of possible candidates, and about the direction in which the county magnates would use their influence. As far as the borough of Maldon itself was concerned, John Strutt had the great advantage of being well known there personally. His uncle, the miller, had lived there most of his life, and he himself had been

apprenticed there in his younger days. All things considered, the surprising thing is that he did not stand earlier. Perhaps it was the prospect of expense that deterred him ; it was certainly not for want of pressing by his friends. For instance when a by-election took place in 1773, Gascoyne wrote :

“ . . . I have spent my *best blood* in Maldon and I repent not of it ; I may get an easy seat in Parliament and a compromise be made, but I am well satisfied such a compromise will ruin your interest which is at present greater than any individual ever possessed, and whatever your own opinion may be as to retirement, remember your son is born to a *fortune collected*, and educated for the world. As to myself, I am at your service, if that service can make your interest. Nassau is but a temporary interest which, if you live, must extinguish and centre in you. If you stand yourself either *permanently* or *temporary*, all opposition is vain. I only throw these things out as hints for your consideration on your pillow before I see you, as I think this step is of more concern to you and less to me than any step ever took—therefore more concerns me.”

Another friend wrote :

“ It is a *plain case* that you will have the preference to any Gentleman in England. I think an old woman may canvas for you with success.”

John Strutt refused to stand at this by-election, but in the General Election which took place the following year he was prevailed upon to offer himself as a candidate jointly with the Hon. Richard Nassau, brother of the Earl of Rochford of St. Osyth's Priory, who was Lord Lieutenant of Essex. Their joint candidature meant that they issued a joint election address and collaborated over the canvas. Their opponent was Lord Waltham of New Hall, an Irish peer who seems to have been rather unpopular in spite of lavish entertaining. As the canvas proceeded Strutt's friends told him that his election was assured, but Nassau was evidently rather a weak candidate ; he made no personal canvas on account of bad health, and it was felt that if he got in it would be due to his association with Strutt. The final result of the poll was :

John Strutt	396 votes.
Hon. R. Nassau	333 „
Lord Waltham	284 „

so that Strutt and Nassau were elected. The bargain made between Lord Rochford and Strutt involved the latter paying only £450 out of total election expenses of £1,500, and the former paid the rest. These expenses seem very large, especially when allowance is made for the altered value of money, but they are modest when compared with the cost of some elections. The eminent historian, Horace Round, gives the weight of his authority to a story quoted in the *Victoria History of Essex*, according to which the 1826 Maldon election cost nearly £50,000. Eighteenth century politics are of course notorious for their corruption, and no doubt in the 1784 election, money was freely spent by both sides on “ treating ” voters, but it should also be borne in mind that a scattered electorate, such as that of Maldon, necessitated running up a heavy bill for transport. For example a freeman living at Brandon in Suffolk sent in a claim for £5 for his expenses in coming to Maldon to vote for Strutt and Nassau, though it is true that he was only allowed three guineas

of this ; then, a large number of freemen each received two guineas for loss of time, and it will be readily seen that such sums, for which some justification can be found, soon amount to a big total.

In the 1780 election John Strutt and Eliab Harvey were returned unopposed, and the combined expenses of election were this time about £850, of which Strutt for some reason paid one-third and Harvey two-thirds. In the 1784 election he stood with Lord Waltham, and was again returned unopposed at a cost to himself of £350. It is with evident pride that he records, " I stood unconnected and on my own interest : *no opposition.*"

Although in no way tied to the party he was a Tory of Tories at heart, and voted accordingly throughout his parliamentary career, of which the chief recorded incident is his having been the only dissentient upon the vote of thanks passed by the House of Commons to Admiral Keppel for his conduct on July 27th, 1788. The admiral had been tried by court martial for cowardice in his direction of a naval engagement with the French. He was acquitted, and became the hero of the hour—for no sufficient reason as John Strutt thought. Horace Walpole, in his *Last Journals*, writes : " Feb. 12th, 1779. Colonel Barré moved the House to thank Admiral Keppel for his services, which passed with the single negative of Strutt, member for Maldon, for which he was much reviled." But the *Morning Post* of 16th February, 1779, defends his action in these words :

Mr. Strutt, the member for Malden, does not reside in that town, but in a magnificent seat built by himself within a few miles from Chelmsford. He is known to be a man both of large fortune and consummate integrity. His dissent from other members of the House of Commons on a late question was the result of steady principle, and by no means arose from a paltry ambition of appearing singular. Mr. Strutt is possessed of strong natural sense, and justly claims a right to think for himself. Had he conceived that any acknowledgments were due to Admiral Keppel, he would have stood among the foremost to promote their circulation through the kingdom. Supposing him, however, to have been mistaken in his conduct on the present occasion, so spirited an error might claim some indulgence. It is surely nobler to assert the real and genuine sentiments of the heart than to suppress them through timidity and sculk in the stronger party with hundreds of others, who, having neither ability, spirit nor inclination to investigate facts, are meanly satisfied to be popular and safe. Perhaps Admiral Keppel is indebted to the riot on Thursday night for at least half of those thanks and congratulations which he received on the Friday following. Had the houses of some other members of Parliament been at as secure a distance from the metropolis as Mr. Strutt's, the negative of this gentleman would certainly have escaped the charge of singularity.

According to tradition he showed his independence in another way, by being the last member to wear a pigtail in the House of Commons. Another story is that some wit or wits in the House of Commons nicknamed him " The flour of the House," the allusion being, of course, to his milling days.

One of John Strutt's special parliamentary interests was the raising of taxes. In 1784 he submitted to Mr. Pitt a five-year scheme for extinguishing the national debt (then some two hundred and thirty million pounds) by imposing fresh land taxes. Mr. Pitt replied in his own hand, politely but firmly shelving the plan.

Writing in 1815 Col. Strutt gives the following summary of his father's public career :

" Early in life my father enjoyed the Friendship of Earl Rochford who was Ambassador at Paris, a secretary of state, & His Majesty's Lieut. of Essex. He pressed my Father, before he was in parliament to accept a Baronetage, but that and other favours were declined, & they lived in intimacy to the end of His Lordship's days.

" In parliament, my Father was much with Lord North, & might have enjoyed place, but He was contented to reside on His estates, fully occupying Himself in County & Parliamentary business. He was esteemed a useful M.P. & for His active constitutional character was an object of fear to the disaffected in Essex, & in the commencement of the French Revolution, when a deputation of Englishmen were at the bar of the Convention, bowing to the Cap of Republicanism, & London & great towns were nearly organized for Rebellion, He was a guide to all, His House was an Inn, & Himself in all directions acting against the seditious & stimulating the lukewarm, not only to aid in defeating the malignant spirit of the day, but utterly to drive its pernicious effects out of Essex, & this county eminently showed a constitutional firmness. Such has been confessedly the conduct of my Father in this no inconsiderable county, near to the Metropolis, & His exertions in His sphere both in & out of P. have always been steady & efficient for the state. During the whole of His Majesty's long reign, He has ever been called the firm constitutional Pillar of Essex."

After he retired from Parliament John Strutt lived the ordinary life of a country squire, busying himself with the management of his property, entertaining his neighbours and being entertained by them. Those were the days before visitors' books were commonly kept, but there are at Terling dinner books extending from 1791 to 1847, which show the exact party that sat down to dinner every day and what they ate. Even when there were only two or three members of the family dining together it was rare to have less than six courses. He was an original member and regular patron of the Beefsteak Club, a dining club which met (and still meets) at Chelmsford.

With his wife he went several times to Bath to drink the waters, and made tours in England and Wales, but they never seem to have gone abroad. One of these expeditions was an unhappy occasion. John, their eldest son, had developed consumption at the end of his first year at Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1779 his parents accompanied him to Falmouth to see him off on a voyage to Lisbon, where the climate, it was hoped, might restore him to health. The father kept a diary on this journey.

" *October 18, 1779.*

" Here we took leave of our beloved son, he who never gave us cause of grief till his illness and this separation—I fear for ever in this land of sorrow. If it be possible God grant we may meet hereafter. Oh my God restore him to us! If that be not with your all wise and inscrutable designs, at least let his days pass away in peace and receive him into your everlasting abode of bliss, for surely if ever a young man had a claim to Heaven I think he must. When we parted he was silent. Words were not expressive of his and our anguish of souls! But no more of this, for the bitter cup has passed us."

" *26th October.*

" About 5 got home, where was Mr. Lock to welcome us. He drank tea. Wife very low and could not see him. He went away and then with much entreaty she

came down and ate a very small piece of broiled fowl. Small matters brought to our recollection our dear son, and damaged that pleasure I always have in my return to Terling."

Their grief and anxiety proved to be only too well founded ; John Strutt, junior, died at Lisbon a few weeks after his arrival. His body was brought back to England and lies in the family vault at Terling.

In 1765 an Act of Parliament was passed to allow the River Chelmer to be deepened, straightened and thus made navigable from Moulsham bridge to the port of Maldon, for barges of thirty tons. However, the Act laid down that no work on the canal might begin until its estimated cost, £13,000, was subscribed and a quarter of that sum actually paid up. Consequently, nothing was done for many years. The construction of a canal system marked the first great advance in transport facilities since Roman times, and in the reign of George III, under the stimulus of the industrial revolution, a network of waterways spread very quickly over England. Inland towns were eager to share the advantages which London and other ports had long enjoyed through the relative ease with which they could obtain sea-borne coal. " Navvies " were the workmen engaged to dig these inland navigations, which prospered only for one generation and were then supplanted by the railways. Although their importance was so short-lived, the canals undoubtedly contributed to England's progress by helping to open the country up to the new ideas and new inventions of the age.

But important as the canals were, their construction was overdone. A veritable canal mania, similar to subsequent railway manias, raged between 1791 and 1794, and in 1793 the Chelmer navigation project was revived under the leadership of Lord Petre and Mr. T. B. Bramston, of Skreens. It is noticeable that the enthusiasm all came from those living in the neighbourhood of Chelmsford, whose trade had everything to gain from the navigation, while the reluctance was all on the side of Maldon which had everything to lose in the way of wharf, warehouse and harbour dues. The vested interests put up a stiff fight under the leadership of John Strutt, who opposed the project with might and main. His son had by now succeeded him as member for Maldon, but naturally all his sympathies were still on the side of that town. And in view of the past he must have felt a sentimental interest in the fortunes of the various watermills on the river between Moulsham and Beeleigh : it might be hoped that the canal would ultimately prove advantageous to the mills, but its immediate effects while in course of building would certainly be prejudicial to them, and there would be an anxious time before the effect of locks and cuts on the flow of water became clear. In addition, without wishing to underrate the genuine public-spirited motives which influenced John Strutt's attitude, it is only fair to observe that he himself had substantial material interests at stake. He wrote :

" They who might be materially affected were considered as not worthy of notice. When it was stated to Mr. Bramston that my property at Maldon was considerable, and that by the proposed plan it must be much injured, not once has he said that he would secure me a compensation ; on the contrary for property which is worth thousands he has said I ought to accept a naked piece of ground

worth £50. I have also property in the meadows by the Chelmer of more value, except one or two, than any individual."

But the spirit of the times was against him, and all his efforts in the county, and his son's resistance in committee of the House of Commons did not prevail to stop the march of progress. The claims of the promoters, though unsupported as he thought by detailed evidence, proved too alluring; the navigation would reduce the freight on coal between Maldon and Chelmsford from 8/- to 4/6 a ton, while farmers would benefit by being able to export their corn and timber and to import chalk and lime. The Bill passed through Parliament in 1793, the money was found, and the navigation was finished in 1795 at a total cost of about £50,000. One of the bitterest results of the affair for John Strutt was that it caused a wide breach with Mr. Bramston, who had been closely associated with him in politics, and had been one of his most intimate friends since schooldays. The only consolation was that he had feared that his lack of success might cost his son the next election at Maldon, and this fear was proved groundless.

The park in his time ran right up to the house but was not quite as large as it is now. When his son pressed him to enlarge it he is said to have refused on the ground that it was already bigger than his estate, but this must have been a jocular exaggeration. The hares in the park were regularly fed and never allowed to be shot, so that there were swarms of them running about quite tame. He did not, however, object to blood sports on principle, witness the following passage from a letter written in 1769 :

JACOB HOUBLON, JUNR., TO JOHN STRUTT.

"I should think myself particularly happy was it in my power to assist you with such hounds as you want. I generally draft those that are too slow for me at the end of the hunting season. My present, I imagine, run very near together, and I fear much faster than you intend yours shall. I sent a month ago two couple of hounds to the Empress of Russia : and I assure you, had I known you wanted such, her Czarinish Majesty should have found hounds from somebody else."

The entry in one of his account books of a ten guineas subscription, paid on 3rd December, 1772, to "Phillips, the Rev : my part of the hounds," shows that he eventually decided not to keep a pack of his own.

The two following anecdotes of John Strutt's behaviour in private life throw an interesting and not unsympathetic light on his character.

According to Mr. Bindon Blood, a former Witham solicitor, he was called by his enemies the little black man, and by his friends Gentleman Strutt ; as a story illustrating the latter name, Mr. Blood told how Strutt called on a lady, who according to the custom of the day, had sandwiches offered him. By some mistake there was no meat in them, and, lest his hostess should discover this, he ate them all !

The other story was told by Arthur Goodday to Mr. Boutflower, a former Vicar of Terling, and is given in the latter's own words :

"In the closing years of the eighteenth century in a country house not very far from Chelmsford there lived a worthy squire to whom his neighbours and



ANNE GOODDAY, MRS. JOHN STRUTT, 1732-1814

dependants had given the amusing nickname of Black Jack, his wife being graced by the homely appellation of Honest Nan. One morning, being slightly indisposed, Black Jack lay in bed rather longer than usual, snugly ensconced within the curtains of his fourposter. Two maidservants, coming into the room, and seeing the tray of Spirits on the drawers by the bedside, said one to the other, "let us drink the health of Black Jack and Honest Nan." This they accordingly did without discovering their master's presence. On the evening of the same day a dinner party was held under the squire's hospitable roof, and toasts were being drunk, when he, by way of enlivening the proceedings, ordered the two maids to be sent for, and on their coming into the room thus addressed them. 'Now,' said he, 'you shall drink before this company the same health that you drank in my room this morning, the health of Black Jack and Honest Nan.' "

The very dark complexion shown in his portrait by Wilson at Terling Place [see Plate facing page 14] makes his nickname easy to understand. As to his height, there is reason to think he was not much above five foot tall. One other detail of his personal appearance is supplied by Lady Charlotte Strutt's diary of August 1801: "Mr. and Mrs. Strutt came and dined here—both well—on their way to Bath, Mr. Strutt looking twenty years younger from having left his wig off. His hair is quite white, and grows well on his head and is very becoming to him."

John Strutt and his wife were both in the habit of recording their expenses in minute detail, and their account books are valuable in helping us to form an idea of their way of living. After they moved into Terling Place their annual budget averaged about £2,500. The expenditure of a typical year (1799) was made up as follows :

	£	s.	d.
To Housekeeping	1,340	12	3½
Son, J. H.	860	0	0
Repairs	127	0	5
Horses	28	7	0
Sundries	50	9	11
Maldon	17	8	6
Assessed Taxes	98	1	2
Income Taxes	196	14	8
Seabroke Thos. : a present	10	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£2,728	13	11½
	<hr/>		

Here are a number of miscellaneous items from their books :—

	£	s.	d.
1761 Bread given to the poor at Christmas : each half a peck loaf. (About seventy names follow.)			
1766 Repairs and improvements to Terling Church	256	18	0
John Willshire for a pump for the use of the parish ..	4	10	0
1769 Robinson : in full for a wigg	1	8	6
1770 Watson, Dr. : Education, Board etc. of Jack and Holden at Winchester to Whitsuntide last half year	50	0	2
1777 Repairs to Garden Wall at Terling Place	62	19	0

		£	s.	d.
1778	Marsh : New Sea Wall between Charles Long and self—the said Long to be at two thirds the expense and I am to be the other third—to shut in the creek between Hide and Cuckoo Marshes. My third part	600	6	9½
1780	Phillips, the Revd. : a funeral sermon for Benjamin Joscelyne	1	1	0
1781	Chapman, John : a present, he being unfortunate	10	10	0
1788	A present to Joseph Strutt (the Antiquary) in order to clear him of his debts	60	0	0
1793	My subscription to oppose the Chelmer Navigation	50	0	0
1794	Enlarging and cleaning the Decoy Pond	52	10	0
1798	Mrs. Strutt's voluntary subscription to the support of the defence of the country against invasion	10	0	0
	My own, the same	100	0	0
1799	My subscription for the rebuilding of Felsted School House	26	5	0
	Forfeits at the Essex Club, London	8	9	6
1802	Strutt, Joseph : for his <i>Ancient Dresses</i> , 1 Vol. <i>Sports and Pastimes</i> , 2 Vols.	15	15	0
1805	Patriotic fund for the relief of the wounded etc. in the battle with the French and Spanish fleet under Ld. Nelson off Trafalgar when the combined fleets were almost destroyed, 21 of their ships being taken and destroyed, but most unfortunate to the country Ld. Nelson was killed	10	0	0
1808	Goodday, the Revd. Mr. : Licence to erect a Mausoleum in the Churchyard on the North side of the Chancel to which I have opened an entry from the Chancel	20	0	0
1809	Making a new cut between Brocks Park and the sheep walk	12	14	4½
1810	New Painting and repairing the Chariot			
1813	Subscription to the Protestant Union for advertisement against the Catholic Emancipation	5	0	0
	Strutt, Joseph : for sorting, arranging and making an index to my books	18	8	6
1814	Strong Room, protection against fire for papers, etc.	161	15	2
1815	Subscription to the wives and children of the killed and wounded soldiers at the battle of Warterloo (sic) in the Netherlands	5	0	0

John Strutt had all the good business man's dislike of legal disputes, and it is clear that he avoided them whenever he could, although he did not go quite unscathed. He was of a careful and economical disposition. The wars of the second half of the eighteenth century, and in particular the Napoleonic wars, were by no means unfavourable to the landed interests, and he was able to save considerable sums of money. The bulk of this he reinvested in land; he was not the man to miss any good opportunity of filling in gaps in his Terling estate, and in 1778 made a big acquisition further afield by buying some 1294 acres of land in Little Baddow and Bicknacre from Lord Barrington for about £29,500. He immediately re-sold the Bicknacre property, keeping for himself 829 acres in Little Baddow which stood him in at just under £18,000, but in order to raise this sum of money he was obliged to mortgage the Terling estate to Lord Barrington for £17,400 at 4 per cent. For a time this mortgage caused him a good deal of anxiety; however, the amount outstanding had been reduced to £9,000 in 1787, when he transferred the mortgage to Hoares Bank, and the debt was finally extinguished in 1800.

RENTAL OF JOHN STRUTT'S ESTATES.

Estate	1781		1816	
	Acres	Net Rent	Acres	Net Rent
Terling	2,658	£1,887	3,368	£3,909
Woodham Ferrers	799	433	941	1,467
Little Baddow	861	551	729	585
Snoreham	677	325	677	456
Maldon		97	2	116
Chignell St. James	144	92		
High Easter	118	58	118	86
	£5,257	£3,443	5,835	£6,619

John Strutt was himself a progressive farmer, and a good deal of information about his methods and results is included in the *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Essex*, drawn up for the Board of Agriculture in 1807 by its secretary, Arthur Young.

WHEAT. Mr. Strutt at Terling sowed a barrel of remarkably beautiful wheat from New York in part of a field, the rest of which was sown with English wheat ; and the American was so blighted in the ear as to produce a poor and miserable grain both in quality and quantity. He sowed it again, and the result was the same ; and repeated the experiment the third time ; the result again the same though the adjoining English wheat in all three years produced a fair crop free from all blight. The *habit* of this wheat therefore was not changed in three years' sowing.

YIELD OF WHEAT PER ACRE. Mr. Strutt at Terling and his tenants etc., three quarters to three quarters and a half.

YIELD OF BARLEY PER ACRE. About Terling, six quarters : Mr. Strutt has had more than ten on a fallow.

CABBAGES. Mr. Strutt at Terling has a small piece every year for his cows ; the corn after them not so good as after fallow.

POTATOS. Mr. Strutt at Terling has generally a small field of them and gets good crops of spring corn after them.

CLOVER. About Terling, clover is generally fed. Mr. Strutt does not allow his tenants to mow twice. Such crops as are seeded have the first growth fed.

TARES. Soiling horses is well understood about Terling, though Mr. Strutt, having much grass, does not practise it. When clover fails they are substituted.

MANURING. In passing through a large part of the county, I had often heard of Mr. Strutt prohibiting his tenants the use of chalk, and when I arrived at Terling I asked him whether the report was accurate. It was so on those estates he possesses, such as Woodham Ferrers, Snoreham, etc., on a strong heavy land ; but he makes no objection to the use of this manure on any lighter soil. He has observed from long experience the difficulty of bringing old chalked lands to be productive. His father made the same remark, so that he is well convinced that, however great the temporary advantage may be to a tenant, it is a lasting injury to the land : and he has known many farmers who have admitted the fact. Mr. Strutt much doubts the accounts received of the benefit of a second chalking,

and especially if done by mixtures of earth and dung; remarking the difficulty of their discriminating in the result the effect due to maiden earth and dung (both certainly good manures) and that which might fairly be attributed to the chalk. Upon this principle it was that, when he was informed that a tenant was going to establish a pot-ash work at considerable expense for the mere benefit of the ashes, he advised him first to try the effect of the ashes *alone*, and not to trust to the effect of adding them to composts of dung.

About Terling the farmers have used great quantities of clay marl, and especially on the lighter land, but the effect, Mr. Strutt informed me, on the heavy red loam is not equal; they used to lay it on from 80 to 100 loads per acre; now not more than 60. It is a very old husbandry in this country, for old pits are spread about the whole of it. The common practice is to lay it on fallows, but Mr. Strutt prefers spreading it on some sort of layer to keep it a time on the surface before ploughing in. Mr. Strutt at Terling clamps his dung and turns over.

SHEEP. Mr. Strutt at Terling began his experiments on South-down sheep about twenty years ago by buying 100 wethers at Kingston fair, and they fattened so soon and so profitably that from that time he changed his stock, which had long been Norfolks or Wiltshires; he sold sixty of them to a butcher at Maldon, and the mutton was so much approved that the man sold many others under the name of Southdowns. From that time Mr. Strutt has kept to this breed: he had for some years 300 breeding ewes, but as the country is much better adapted to an annual fattening stock than to a breeding system, he gave them up for a yearly purchase of wethers when he could get them; otherwise wether lambs, but still adhering to the breed. He has uniformly found that they fatten better on grass than either Norfolks or Wiltshire, but thinks that the former better on turnips. Mr. Dines, his tenant at Snoreham, sending him two New Leicester wethers for a comparison, two of his own South-downs were marked and weighed, and they went in all respects fairly together. The New Leicesters beat considerably, but neither the mutton nor the well ascertained information he had received relative to the disadvantage of breeding them would permit him to think of a flock of that sort. The best South-downs he has ever been able to procure were from the Duke of Richmond's flock; a breed which he esteems as being greatly preferable to the *new improvements*, so that when he hears of these being killed of great weight and value he is only convinced that much pains have been exerted to injure a most excellent breed of sheep. Mr. Bramston at Skreens had been many years in the Norfolk breed of sheep, but at Terling Mr. Strutt showed him a parcel of wethers, Norfolk and South-downs, which had gone long together on the same food. The former were barely meat, but the latter quite fat, and this induced Mr. Bramston to change his flock . . .

GENERAL IMPROVEMENT. Mr. Strutt at Terling has paid attention to the state of agriculture for above fifty years, and is clear that it has been upon the whole gradually improving; and more still in the last five-and-twenty years.

Instances have been given to show that John Strutt was not ungenerous. An anonymous letter received in 1814 shows the other side of the picture, though the writer's threats seem out of all proportion to his grievance.

" John Strutt I am just a going to state my case to you that is to say i am ashamed of what you have been a doing to the poor for you have been feeding them with scillerylee and Rice and i am shure that you will be feed with powder and Shot without great alterations if this is not a warning to you i will try what

fire will do for i not only i but others are coming from other places to help pull your hous down if we cannot pullit down we will blow it down with gunpowder.

"Second act we will burn terling hall down just to make a beginning and then we will seek the avenge upon the farmer becaus they doe not find we work we will . . . 3 farmehousen out of 4 the whole parish threw.

"If there is not great alterations once within 3 weeks we insist of murdering John Strutt for he looks more like a blaguard then a gentleman powder shot and fire."

John Strutt lived to a great age without much apparent mental decay. General Strutt, writing to his niece Emily, in August 1813, gives a little picture of the family life at that time :

"The convent of La Trappe was never more silent than Terling Place after dinner, or rather after I have made tea for your grandmother. Your grandfather takes up the newspaper or magazine, reads until he sleeps, and not a word passes until he says 'It is time to go to bed is it not?' at about a quarter past ten Terling time, which continues to be one hour faster than other clocks. The bell is then rung and we retire."

The Honourable Mrs. Drummond was old enough at her grandfather's death to remember him well, and her recollection confirms her uncle's description : in 1873 she writes :

"In 1813 my grandfather was very old and he and my uncle lived most quietly together. He sat on his sofa all day with no exertion but looking at a book or newspaper."

The following passages are from letters written to his grandson towards the end of his life.

"19th Oct. 1812.

"Your father and sisters have informed you the election at Maldon went off without opposition, which I hope will be to his satisfaction ; and as an individual I trust he will give his exertions in support of Monarchy, the established religion, and the constitution in every part entire, opposing all attempts at innovation.

"The manners habits and pursuits of men are very much changed within the last thirty years, and you must prepare yourself for unpleasant events in this country, and I fear not very distant."

"23rd July 1813.

"I am obliged by your calling on Dr. Kirkland, and it grieves me his health is in so sad state, for I consider we are under much obligation for his attention to your father in his illness at Bath also to your grandmother when last there. It is not in my power to say she is the least improving in her recollection ; there appears no prospect of amendment—it is most sad to your uncle and to myself ; for its present miserable state I cannot leave her for any time—indeed I have slept only one night out of Terling since our return in November 1811. We have one comfort that her bodily health is not much impaired."

18th Nov. 1814.

"My farming affairs I have given to the direction of your uncle [General Strutt] who has kindly taken upon himself the management, for even that which of late years was an amusement is now too much for me."

March 8, 1816.

VALUATION OF EFFECTS AT DEATH OF JOHN STRUTT, ESQ

Household goods and furniture	..	..	£1,050	1	6			
Plate, Linen and China	..	..	490	10	6			
Books, Prints and pictures	..	..	300	0	0			
Wearing Apparel (given to Goward who attended J. S., Esq.)	..	..	33	9	6			
Jewels and ornaments	..	..	96	0	0			
Wine and other Liquors	..	..	206	15	0			
Horses and Carriage	..	..	100	0	0			
Farming Stock and Implements of Husbandry			1,068	0	6			
							3,344	17 0
Rents in arrear	..	..					550	8 5
Wood	..	..					202	19 0
Sheep	..	..					50	0 0
Feed	..	..					390	9 1½
Timber	..	..					1,554	12 8½
Bonds (Personal)	..	..					2,321	8 10
Notes of Hand	..	..					1,706	0 0
Mortgages	..	..					14,975	0 0
Funds	..	..					1,822	10 0
Cash	..	..					2,162	18 3
Net Personal Estate							£29,081	3 4

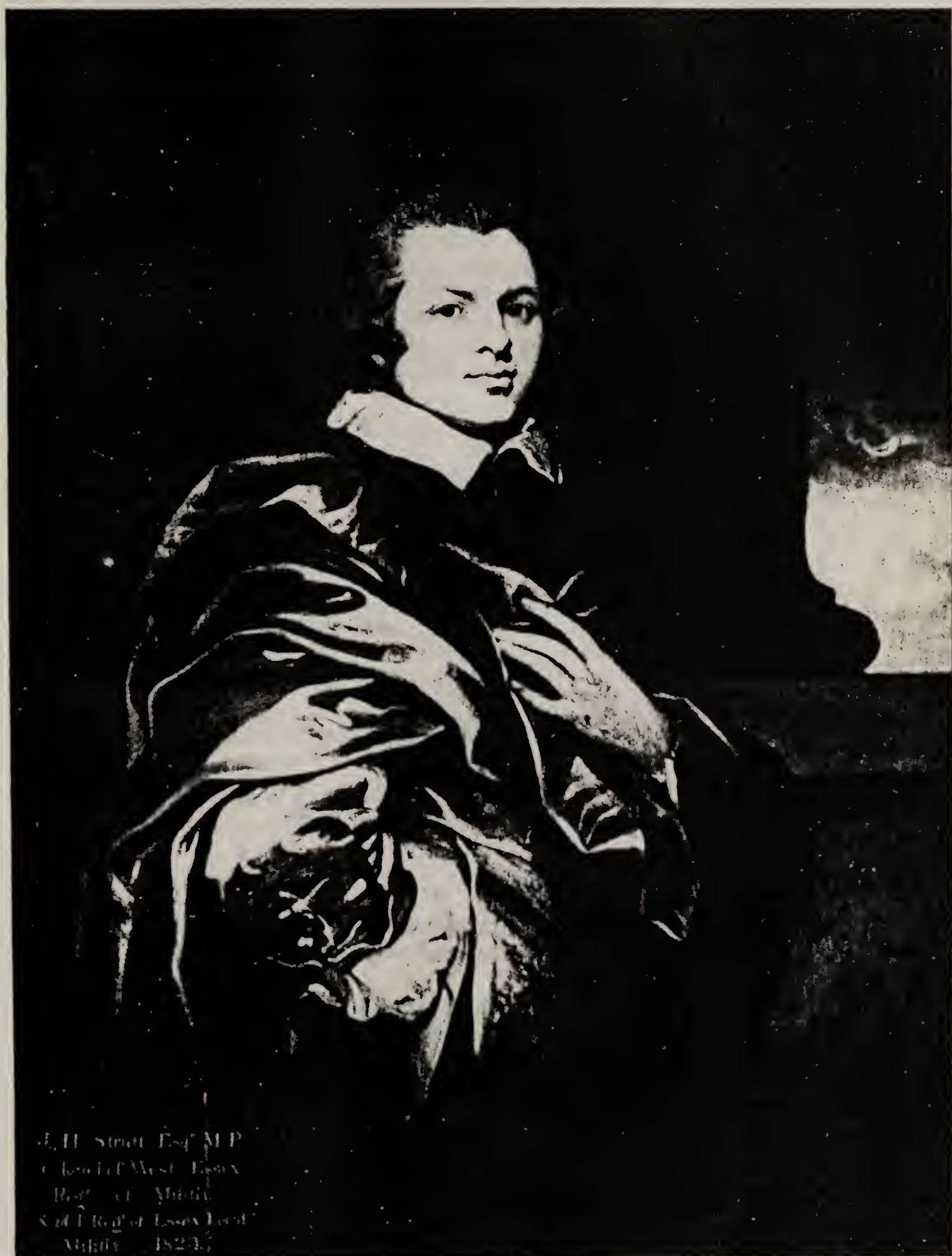
Mrs. Strutt died in 1814 and her husband followed her two years later. He caught a severe cold in Feb. 1816, and died a fortnight later of inflammation of the lungs. They are both buried in the family vault at Terling.

FROM THE *ESSEX HERALD*, MARCH 12TH, 1816.

"Died on Friday night in the 90th year of his age John Strutt Esq. of Terling Place, whose long life was spent in the exercise of every manly virtue. His sound judgment, superior sagacity and strict integrity occasioned his being frequently consulted by his neighbours in the common occurrences of life ; and acting invariably from a stability of principle himself, his advice like his conduct was always prompt and consistent. He was no fickle, neutral hesitating character, but at all times inflexibly steady to his party and principles. Even his love of œconomy, which was thought by many to be his predominant passion, he kept subordinate to his sense of Justice and propriety. This was sufficiently proved by his uniform liberality to a numerous tenantry. In Parliament his conduct will be long remembered when, like another Metellus, he supported the dignity of an independent Senator by his single vote, and thus drew his own character more unequivocally than in words.

" Unmoved,
 " Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
 " His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal,
 " Nor number, nor example with him wrought
 " To swerve from truth or change his constant mind,
 " Though single."

MILTON'S *Paradise Lost*.



COLONEL JOSEPH HOLDEN STRUTT, M.P., 1758-1845

CHAPTER V.

JOHN STRUTT'S eldest son died in 1771 as has been described, and the second son, Joseph Holden (1758-1845) then became his father's heir. He was born and baptized at Maldon, his middle name being chosen as a compliment to a Mr. and Mrs. Holden who were friends of his parents: it was the name he was always called by in his family.

He was educated at Felsted, from there proceeded to Winchester, and in 1778 went up to Brazenose, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner. For his first two years at the university he had an allowance of £100, but this proved inadequate: he ran up debts totalling £145, and in 1781 his father paid these off and increased his allowance to £200 a year. This he still overspent by £50 in his last year.

"At Winchester I laboured most hard to accomplish to learn. At Oxford I did my best to learn, but I was an ignorant. When at Oxford I well remember I felt my mind suddenly more capable. My father desired me to take my degrees B.A. [1782] and M.A. [1785] luckily examinations were not strict, and as I was a gentleman commoner, my examinations were passed over in kindness. My labour to acquire was intense, but my ability was very feeble.

I used to admire the hearty good humour of the Scotch young ladies: I remember a very good creature of that nation. When I was about seventeen I got into a stage in London to travel all night, and I placed myself in one of the four corners for the coach was to hold six inside. After I was so seated a fine, stout woman about twenty-seven got in and seated herself in the middle next me. In a little time she asked me to change places with her, which I very ungallantly refused. In the course of the night I awoke from a sound sleep, and found my head resting on her breast, which she had good naturedly suffered for more than two hours; upon which I instantly gave her my seat and we travelled very happily together, though rather warm, for we were six in the coach.

I returned to Terling to live with my parents. Shooting was my favourite [occupation], and with a quick sight the first season I killed every partridge I shot at—many a time when my gun had not reached my shoulder. I was a fox hunter and the Revd. W. B. Daniel dedicated his *Rural Sports* to me in an elegant address. He only commended my spirit for the chase. I was while at Oxford a magistrate, Deputy Lieutenant and Lt.-Col. of Essex Militia."

As a younger son he had been designed for the Church, his father having the gift of four livings. Writing at the end of his life to his daughter he relates:

"I was to have been a parson. I believe I should have been happy, but I was placed in another sphere. How odd things are. My elder brother and I were at Terling when the spire of the Church was repairing. I was an adventurous boy. I got up to and stood on the flat of the projecting iron and held by the weather-cock (look at it, and conceive *me* there). I stood there and gave a shout, and all the village then present were saying 'He is looking over his property.' My elder brother was in the churchyard below—he died when not twenty-two years of age."¹

¹ The implication is that the village people were gifted with prophetic foreknowledge of the Colonel's succeeding to the property in spite of being a second son.

Later, according to his own account, he wished to study law, but his father judged that he had not sufficient ability of the kind necessary to make a success of a legal career, and the idea was given up. Instead, he devoted most of his life to county affairs in which he played a prominent part for more than fifty years.

A remarkable account of his own career was written by Col. Strutt shortly after his wife's death, and is reproduced here exactly as he wrote it, for the combination of style and substance cannot fail to give a most revealing insight into the Colonel's character. Undoubtedly, one of the Colonel's main motives in writing this account was to read his son a posthumous lesson in filial obedience¹: running right through it is an implied contrast between his own behaviour and his son's, and this contrast is especially emphasized in the matters of their respective marriages and of their candidatures for the House of Commons.

COL. STRUTT'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

"The following may be read when Col. Strutt is no more, and can only be written that his Family may be gratified by his conduct as they would have been concerned had it been of an opposite character. Therefore as an example to his descendants he has taken the trouble to write as follows :—

"From Col. Strutt's earliest age, when he became his Father's eldest son, how his implicit duty to his Father, supported by honor, integrity with the world, perseverance with consideration and judgment, privation of the comforts of life for Family considerations, with an ardent desire to be useful to his country in his sphere, he obtained the approbation and esteem of the great men here mentioned :

Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister.
Mr. Dundas (Lord Melville), Secretary of State.
Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), Prime Minister.
Mr. Percival, Prime Minister.
Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister.
Duke of York, Commander of the Army.
The Prince of Wales, afterwards George the 4th.
Lord Braybrooke, Lord Lieutenant of Essex.
Lord Maynard, Lord Lieutenant of Essex.
Lieutenancy of Essex.
Maldon.
Colchester.
Dream.
Militia.

And to sum up the good King George the 3rd, in the presence of his Court, publicly, unexpectedly and spontaneously looking at Col. Strutt, appearing to reflect on the knowledge of his services, said aloud '*We must reward you.*' Thus in honor Col. Strutt established his family, which was a most gratifying circumstance in a worldly consideration, especially as his chief care and endeavour was to bring up his children in such a preference and deference to God and our Saviour as to lay a foundation for their eternal happiness.

"Col. Strutt was born on the 21st of November, and Lady Charlotte Mary Gertrude Fitzgerald on the 29th of May 1758.

¹John James Strutt's diary Aug. 22, 1826: "I heard from my Father, saying that he did not mean to renew a Religious correspondence with me, but *perhaps* in his worldly Testament I might read when I can see him no more a Christian Father's observations and prayer."

" Col. Strutt was about to marry Miss Charlotte Horlock, a nice, beautiful, good young lady, but his Father, tho' he had consented, 'was averse, and therefore Col. Strutt observed an opportunity and did not persevere.

" Col. Strutt thus relinquishing the object of his affection, Providence conducted him into a Foreign Land, and gave him power to gain the affections of a lady renowned for her good sense,¹ Lady Charlotte Fitzgerald, who by her excellent conduct to Col. Strutt's parents increased their gratification and happiness, and to Col. Strutt, honor in the world's approbation of his wife.

" Col. Strutt and Lady Charlotte M. G. Fitzgerald met at Toulouse in 1788, and after the consent of both families they were married on the 21st of February 1789 in a Calvinist Church, and then according to the Law of France they were registered as Man and Wife in the Hotel de Ville, and immediately went into Spain and there remained several months, but returned to Toulouse, and had born to them on the 21st January 1790 their beloved daughter, Emily Anne.

" Col. Strutt and Lady Charlotte were then recalled by his father to England, that Col. Strutt might be a candidate to represent Maldon, which Borough his Father had represented for seventeen years. Col. Strutt was elected without opposition, from which time he represented Maldon for thirty-six successive years.

" Maldon was not a Borough but a County interest, and the almost unanimous successive returns of Col. Strutt to Parliament for thirty-six years by the Gentlemen of Essex shows how well he was esteemed.

" Col. Strutt, wishing his son to be in Parliament with him, declined Maldon in his Favor, and was returned for Oakhampton, making a successive sitting of more than forty years in Parliament, but his son after a successful canvass begged to decline being in Parliament.

" On the 18th of July 1811 Col. Strutt dreamt that his Friends had him on the top of a ladder, which they danced about and would not let him descend. He endeavoured to desire them to place the ladder against the wall that he might be able to descend, but his friends continued to keep him on top of the ladder, preventing, when he awoke. The Dream made such an impression on his mind (for he was much agitated) that he related it immediately to Lady Charlotte Strutt, and when he got up from his bed he wrote it down.

" Subsequently, Col. Strutt's Father requested him not to be again a candidate for the Borough of Maldon, and though this in Col. Strutt's belief militated against all his amusements or advantages to his family (for he had then no occupation, and a Peerage had been opened to his view by King George the 3rd, having *voluntarily* and graciously said to him '*We must reward you* '), and tho' Col. Strutt calculated that his time would not be pleasant to him during his Father's life, having no occupation, being very poor, and that he should be entirely deprived of any expectation of a Peerage to his Family, yet he was determined to comply with the wishes of his Father *without a single word* or expression of disappointment, and cheerfully to conform implicitly to his desire.

" The following year, 1812, Parliament was dissolved, and, in conformity to the desire of Col. Strutt's Father, Col. Strutt went to Mr. Bramston, Sir William Smyth, Tyrrel, Abdy, Conyers, Mr. Charles Smith, Lord Henniker and Mr. Newton, and others his Tory Friends to offer to each of them his interest at Maldon one after the other to be a candidate in his place at Maldon, for Col. Strutt who had been so handsomely supported by the Gentlemen of Essex was desirous that they should not be left without a Gentleman to represent their political sentiments in Parliament. But no one of them would be a candidate, all pressing Col. Strutt to continue, but he positively declined to each, and there was no candidate for the Tories even after the Proclamation of the writ at Maldon was made.

" Then Col. Strutt's Father, without a word from him, rang his bell at two o'clock in the night, and gave his assent that Col. Strutt should be a candidate.

¹ Note the contrast between the description applied to Miss Horlock and that applied to Lady Charlotte Fitzgerald.

And then Col. Strutt made known that he was a candidate that day both in London and Harwich and Maldon and in all the Towns and throughout the Country, and, on the 3rd day after, he was returned Member for Parliament without opposition the 6th time for the Borough of Maldon.

" Thus he was kept upon the top of the ladder by his Friends, and his dream he apprehends was fulfilled, and himself subsequently honored by a Peerage being given to his Family, in the manner he suggested, in the person of the Lady Charlotte Strutt, Baroness Rayleigh.

" Thus his sincere and devoted duty to his Father was amply rewarded.

" Whatever the mind means *honestly* (without betraying a concealed wish or any intimation to the contrary) to act up to its duty perfectly correctly, it ever will be rewarded either by acquiring temporal objects, or by the conscious rectitude of the mind diffusing an inward gratification which is the happy solace of every good person.

" On the Colchester election, when it was deemed by all after some days poll that Thornton could not be returned, and he was about to leave the Town because D. W. Harvey was much ahead of him, Col. Strutt went in the night to Colchester, called up from bed Thornton, and obtained his promise not to speak to any one till Col. Strutt again saw him.

" Col. Strutt gained information, obtained the promises of active measures from Friends in and around Colchester, and returned to Thornton, who promised Col. Strutt to stand that day's poll, when all was put into action, which placed him ahead of Harvey, and Thornton was returned to Parliament, and Mr. Hart Davis, the father of Mr. Davis the other candidate, wrote that Harvey was ousted and Thornton seated solely by the efforts of Col. Strutt.

" At the General Election, 1818, of the eight members to be returned [from Essex] Government had seven, Mr. Western being the eighth and hostile, and it was confessed that Col. Strutt turned the election at Colchester ousting Harvey, and at Maldon getting Gaskell in, to the exclusion of a violent Party Whig, a Stranger to the County.

" In the year 1817 the leading people of Colchester and the Corporation were unanimous in pressing their request that Col. Strutt would be their High Steward in the room of Earl Chatham, and had so prepared their recommendation for Government, but Col. Strutt persisted in declining, recommending Mr. John Round of Danbury Park, who was appointed High Steward.

" A general meeting of Lieutenancy sent Col. Strutt their thanks for originating and acting upon a plan which tended to lessen the number of ballots, to the advantage of the County, exhibiting a pecuniary resource which the County never before experienced, and many expressed their opinion that Col. Strutt's Family ought to be rewarded, he having stood so long independent, foremost in the County for the maintenance of the Constitution.

" A County meeting was demanded to thank Wardell for accusing the Duke of York in the House of Commons etc. It was granted, but it was acknowledged by many that the plan Col. Strutt arranged, and which was adopted, brought forth the sense of the County of Essex to the discomfiture of those who wished to trample upon the Duke of York and the Throne."

THE MILITIA.

" Col. Strutt was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the West Essex Militia in the order book in the year 1782, at the end of the seven years American War. He served several years as such, to 1796, and was then appointed Colonel to the supplementary Regiment of Essex Militia to raise, form, drill and make perfect, and afterwards to a second supplementary Regiment to form and drill also, the strength of which was twelve thousand men, and also the Essex local Regiment of Militia to form and drill. And after his being absent to a day 25 years from the West

Essex Regiment of Militia, he was appointed it's Colonel which was the fourth and last Regiment he commanded.

"Col. Strutt's correct accounts with Government, not appropriating to himself allowances for the men which were not expended, was proved, for it so happened (for good will always attend the honest) his returns were investigated in the Commander in Chief's office, occasioned by an anonymous letter being sent to the Duke of York by those who Col. Strutt had prevented their frauds to his inconvenience on the County and on the Publick. And it was happily made evident to the Duke of York that out of an allowance (the subject of the charge), of £115 18. 7., Col. Strutt had drawn only as was expended on the men, £1 14. 5., and all his returns were found thus correct, and singular in office. For it was usual for Colonels to draw for the full allowances, tho' not expended on the men, and retain the balance for their own private advantage, tho' it was granted to them upon honor if it necessarily had been expended on the men.

"Col. Strutt's Father wrote to his son that he approved of his conduct towards Government in respect of Militia money allowances, writing it is not what *might* be made by a Regiment but what can be with *honor* made, and by so acting thro' life your mind will be always at rest.

"Col. Strutt may also add that more than 3000 men volunteered from his Regiments into the line, much at his own expense.

"Col. Strutt volunteered his Regiment to Ireland, when none of the Regiments of Essex had so done¹; and this was at a period when Lady Charlotte Strutt's brother, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, was in rebellion in Ireland; but Lady Charlotte was prepared to accompany Col. Strutt.

"After this the other Regiments of Essex Militia volunteered their services to Ireland. Thus did Col. Strutt act, though he knew his name was spoken of in Dublin that he should be assassinated, as was declared by an officer who came from the Battle of Vinegar Hill.

"Mr. Secretary Dundas, tho' Col. Strutt was not in office, got him to look over the Militia papers before he issued them from his office. And at this time it was declared that Col. Strutt had made better arrangements respecting the Militiamen volunteering into the Army, and by one regulation saved the Nation about one hundred thousand pounds.

"The Prince of Wales during the camp at Brighton in the year 1793/4 did Lieutenant Colonel Strutt the honor when he was at his table to heep flattering eoniums on him, as Commanding the West Essex Regiment of Militia, tho' Sir William Smyth, who was the Colonel, was also at the Prince's table.

"At a meeting of the Lords Lieutenant and Militia Colonels in London, Earl Fitzwilliam being in the Chair, it was resolved that in no case should the Militia volunteer to Ireland. This resolution was to defeat the power of Government, and Col. Strutt, finding when he entered the room that they had so resolved, urged that the words 'except in the case of imminent danger to Ireland' should be inserted, and these words were at his instance adopted.

"Lord Braybrooke wrote to Col. Strutt 'I think you very meritorious in making the offer for Ireland (no other Regiment of Essex had offered) and I hope you will have many of your officers and men with you. Ireland is certainly the seat of danger, and of course it must be likely to be the seat of war; it is therefore highly praiseworthy to seek honor in the field.'

"To Col. Strutt it was stated by the Rebels in Dublin as a marked man, but Col. Strutt volunteered. The good Col. Strutt intended to the state by his exertions he hoped to accomplish, and in respect to the danger he trusted to Providence.

"Col. Strutt having declared his intention to put his son into the Militia as an ensign when he was about eighteen years of age, the Lt.-Col. came to Col. Strutt at the request of the officers that his son should be appointed the Lt.-Col., and the Lt.-Col. would resign. Col. Strutt would not suffer this, and his son was afterwards ensign, lieutenant, captain and major.

¹The militia was entrusted with home defence, and could not normally be compelled to serve overseas.

" His Colonel (Rigby) dying, the Lord Lieutenant (Maynard) appointed Mr. Conyers, who had been a Captain in Col. Strutt's Regiment, a junior Militia officer to his son, who was a major of that Militia Regiment. Col. Strutt advised his son to resign, and he did resign.

" Col. Strutt, having been so long in Public life, and having been for more than fifty years a field officer in the Essex Militia, having as Colonel commanded four Regiments, resigned his commission as Colonel in the West Essex Militia to Lord Maynard, the Lord Lieutenant.

" In 1792 Mr. Pitt selected Col. Strutt to be in the commission of Lieutenancy of Essex with Col. Bullock and Mr. Bramston, the then members for the County, on the death of Lord Howard de Walden the Lord Lieutenant, but the commission was not signed by the King, for soon after Lord Braybrooke was appointed Lord Lieutenant.

" In 1794 Mr. Pitt offered to Col. Strutt a place reported to be worth £3000 a year, which he declined with Lady Charlotte's consent, wishing to remain independent, as he could, he thought, so better serve the country, though at that time and afterwards being only an heir apparent Col. Strutt was poor for many years, so much so that his dear youngest brother, General Strutt, gave him £5 to buy tea and sugar for Col. Strutt and daughters, that they might have such, for a pennyworth of milk mixed with water and dry bread was their usual breakfast.

" Mr. Pitt had Col. Strutt frequently at table during the sessions of Parliament, and treated him with attention and great kindness.

" In 1794 Mr. Dundas wrote to Col. Strutt that in the eventful times of 1793 etc. etc. his zeal had been unremitting in forwarding all measures calculated to preserve entire the constitution of the country.

" Lord Sidmouth offered to make Col. Strutt a Baronet, which he, as well as his Father who long before he was in Parliament, declined, as they certainly were not necessary in their then situation in the County, as they were respected and their names were always first on any public business in Essex.

" Mr. Addington had confidential conversations with Col. Strutt.

" Mr. Percival informed the Duke of York of Col. Strutt's illustrations of the proceedings in the House of Commons against His Royal Highness by Wardell and his crew. Mr. Percival wrote to Col. Strutt that if he had been in Wardell's counsels he could not have made better observations on the existing question.

" Mr. Percival wrote, A more loyal independent support he believed His Majesty never received from any Family than Col. Strutt's, and, without being asked, stated Col. Strutt's services merited a Peerage.

" Lord Castlereagh had friendship to Col. Strutt, and frequently declared to others that Col. Strutt was one of the best members of Parliament.

" The Duke of York caused a letter to be written to Col. Strutt in approbation of his military conduct.

" The Prince of Wales, afterwards George the 4th, had Col. Strutt frequently to dine with him, though he made the Prince sensible of Col. Strutt's reproof, but Col. Strutt never avoided any duty he thought necessary.

" Lord Braybrooke was so pleased with Col. Strutt's conduct that he wrote lauding it to Government.

" Lord Maynard pressed Col. Strutt not to resign his Regiment of Militia.

" The Lieutenancy gave Col. Strutt their thanks for his military conduct.

" Maldon Corporation and the people never opposed Col. Strutt, and returned him their thanks for the Charter.

" The leading people and Corporation of Colchester unanimously prepared an application to Government to make him their High Steward in the room of Lord Chatham, but he declined and recommended Mr. Round.

" His Majesty King George the 3rd was so impressed with Col. Strutt's general conduct and exertions for the good of the state that he voluntarily and perfectly unexpectedly to Col. Strutt said publicly at the Levée and in the circle of his ministers

and about twenty peers and gentlemen, in his walk round the circle to speak or bow to each person, aloud, ' *We must reward you.*'

" Lord Liverpool wrote there was no person he more wished to be in Parliament than Col. Strutt, and gave effect to his Majesty's declaration, who said ' *We must reward you,*' and Lord Liverpool promised to lay his name before His Majesty, but Col. Strutt, having declined honor at his time of life, did not wish to be made a Peer, and was satisfied that his Family should reap the benefit of his character and services to the state, and desired that Lady Charlotte Strutt should be made a Baroness, and she was, at the Coronation of George the 4th.

" To conclude with the last and first object of Col. Strutt's wish—that, after he was his Father's eldest born, a period of between forty and fifty years was spent to his Father's satisfaction, as far as was proved by affectionate letters from him to Col. Strutt fifteen years before his death, again about nine years and again about five years, left with his will to be opened after his funeral. These caused more joy and inward satisfaction to Col. Strutt's mind than the ample patrimony he received from his Father who died in 1816.

" On Sept. 13th 1836 Col. Strutt was bereaved of the affectionate partner of his bosom for about forty-eight years, and tho' his afflictions from past recollections are great, yet he is comforted by his three children. May I observe that my late dear partner of my bosom, on first seeing me in the day, rose from her seat till she was too weak, whether induced by respectful duty as to a husband or by affection and esteem I decide not : suffice to say my loss of this treasure, my late wife, is continually felt.

" Col. Strutt's last letter in the lifetime of his dear wife, which was written to his brother, General Strutt : ' in one line, there is no chance of Lady Rayleigh leaving Bath alive. Dr. Parry thinks her pulse in general better than I think. He thinks it is not a retiring pulse, I am apprehensive it is. To make lamentations is unreasonable, but my heart is agitated, my mind is discomforted, and my expected new change of situation after forty-eight years presents a clouded atmosphere, but I have no cause to murmur but to be most thankful, and my mind abounds in humble gratitude.'

" Col. Strutt has thus detailed the above not for any personal adulation to himself, because it is meant to be read when he is gone and is no more, but written for his children's comfort and satisfaction, and he states to them that whenever his consideration and judgment permitted him to exert himself (which was not so often as he wished) upon public business, success usually followed, affording credit to him, and advantage to those interested and the public.

" My dear children, would it not have been melancholy to know that your father had been despised of men ?

" Is it not pleasing to cherish in recollection that he was approved by men, so as to receive consideration, esteem and honor, high incorruptible conduct ? "

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CHAPTER VI.

Now to supplement the foregoing autobiography: the following letters written in 1784 throw light on the Colonel's life at home in the years before his marriage. To understand these letters it must be remembered that John Strutt had recently borrowed heavily on mortgage from Lord Barrington in order to pay for the Little Baddow property.

COL. J. H. STRUTT TO HIS FATHER, JOHN STRUTT, M.P.

"Honored Sir,

I wou'd not have you think my silence last night proceeded from a desire of concealing my real sentiments from you. On the contrary it is my wish that I may so explain myself to you that you may learn my opinion in this affair. I shall not attempt to write with caution but with perspicuity; as you have dealt openly with me, so will I deliver myself without the least duplicity. Why or wherefore I cannot tell, but I find an invincible difficulty in discoursing with you concerning myself. I shall say no more upon this subject, as, if you do not already believe me sincere, whatever I can add will not, I am sure, tend to alter your opinion.

"You began last night with speaking of my Bath affair, and saying you and my mother wished me well settled.

"In answer to the first, I can say that were I to learn tomorrow that Mrs. Denison¹ was a widow and possessed of everything that Mr. D. cou'd leave her, if I know myself, I shou'd not give it a thought. I look upon that business as passed for ever. Situated as I am, I believe I shou'd not let slip a fair and good opportunity of settling, but I have not the most distant prospect of such an event taking place, nor can I say my inclination leads me to wish it might soon happen. Terling is a place I am very fond of, and when I marry I shall, I trust, be able to live in easy circumstances, but (tho' I thank you for your intended kindness) I hope to see you and my mother spend your days in happiness and ease at this place.

"I entirely agree with you that the thoughts, opinions, ways and dispositions of old and young (however they may wish to oblige, comfort and make happy each other) are so very different, that it is incompatible and inconsistent with their happiness to live constantly together, unless illness, misfortune or any other particular cause on the one side shou'd render the immediate care and constant attendance of the other necessary.

"Having explained myself thus far, I must again mention, as I did in a letter of December 1782, that I wish not to be totally idle, but with me here is the difficulty: I know not what to point out, unless it is to go abroad, as, in my situation, I conceive it wou'd be advantageous to me, but of this you are to determine. When I say go abroad I will likewise add the plan I have revolved in my mind. Send me with a proper recommendation to some large town within about sixty miles of Paris (I speak of Paris as I conceive the language wou'd be more pure near the metropolis). There let me reside under the care of some proper person. This, I understand from Mr. Eaton (as we used to talk of some such scheme last year), I may undertake at the rate of between two and three hundred a year.

"I have been asked why I do not attend Westminster Hall. As to this I conceive it too expensive living so much in London as that wou'd require.

"As money has in a great measure prevented the comfort of us all, I wish for my part after the Races to engage in some plan with as much economy as I can.

¹ Miss Charlotte Horlock before her marriage.

To part with my servant and horses will—I speak with truth—give me no kind of uneasiness, as I hope by it to make my constant thoughts more easy.

“ Since I have been writing this morning a plan has presented itself to me, which for economy has its recommendation. I speak quite undigested. I write to show you I am ready and willing to do anything. Let me retire far North West of this Island, where I have an acquaintance or two : there I may live comfortably, and I trust, not unimproving my mind, upon a small income. In the winter I will come and make you a visit at Terling. It need not be known I go there for economy. It may be said I go by my own desire for a year or two.

“ I conceive myself much obliged to you for opening your affairs to me. My mother and I have often conversed about the debt which lays heavy upon your mind. My sentiments on that head are what they always have been, I wish not our ease and happiness to be put in competition with a thousand or two of pounds. I much wish you wou’d not think of paying off the debt at present. If I marry, our circumstances will be much bettered. If I do not, I shall think it no hardship whatever hereafter, but I shall rejoyce as I pay the debt that *we did* live comfortably together.

“ I have writ much and have said all. I shall now beg you to point out the path you wish me to pursue, and I hope you doubt not but that I will cheerfully embrace it.

“ Before I finish let me return you my best thanks and tell you that I am not unmindful of the many kindnesses you have heaped upon me, and, as I know your paternal affection towards me, so do I hope to be a blessing to you.”

JOHN STRUTT M.P. TO HIS SON, COL. J. H. STRUTT.

“ Dear Son,

You must feel the reason I have not sooner replied to your letter of the 8th of June. I shall now go immediately to the subject before us. And here I must lament that you force me to this mode of conversation, because I am not anxious when talking on serious matter and in a serious manner of having deviated from the strict rules of propriety. However, I shall take it as I find it.

“ In the first place let me do away at once all suspicion of want of candour and plain dealing on your part by saying that if I cou’d suspect you wanting in these essentials I shou’d never think it worth my attention to open the situation of my affairs to you, or consult you on any matter whatever.

“ I congratulate you upon having taken a manly resolution to forget the Bath affair, for which reason I have nothing to say upon it.

“ The necessity and advantage of your early settling in life is obvious to all, and very interesting to us. There is, and I trust it is laudable, an ambition in giving down our names and family, when it can be done without disgrace and in some degree of reputation. This ambition the wisest and best have held honourable, and, as all wish in an humble way to imitate such persons, surely it cannot be thought very presuming to hope that our family in this place may continue united for a series of years.

“ You will not wonder under this idea that you are pressed to settle, but there is one other reason which in my opinion outweighs all others, and that is that real and substantial happiness is most easily obtained by an early connexion. I cou’d on this subject enlarge and show the difficulties attending a disparity of years.

“ I wish it were in my power to say make choice of a young lady of character and her want of fortune shall be no impediment, but you know that cannot be in the situation of my affairs, of which I will speak more fully hereafter, but this I will say : Do not let the fortune be the sole object. If you do, the chance is that the remainder of your life will be miserable. Nor do I think a large fortune absolutely necessary. *We* can do very well with a moderate one. Upon this subject I trust I have sufficiently explained myself.

"I shall now turn to the plan of going to France, and that seems pointed out for the sake of Oeconomy and attaining the language. If these are the objects, I do think both might be obtained here. The first I am confident may, for however we may enlarge upon the rules of Oeconomy, I do verily believe they may be reduced to this, 'avoid trifles.' Make use of your recollection. Is your money spent in large sums, or does it escape from your pockets in guineas and half-guineas and less?"

"As to the language, I am inclined to think that may by application be learnt here. How many do we hear speaking French who never were out of the Kingdom; yet I must acknowledge that to speak it with elegance may not so well be attained here as in France. But in what way are you to spend your time if you go into a County Town? You will be tired of the people of the place, and will know no more of the customs and manners of the country than a foreigner residing in Chelmsford wou'd of England.

"Your other proposition of retiring to the North-West of England. If a person attend Westminster Hall with a *view to practice*, I am inclined to think it may be done on a very moderate income, but if merely for the purpose of having said, I have attended the Courts so many terms, and the other part of his time to be spent in amusements, I see no good that can arise from such attendance. And you are too late in life to pursue the law by way of profession.

"You have spoke with much propriety on the subject of old and young people living constantly in one family, and where there is one indolent, however well inclined the parties may be, I can venture to pronounce there are a thousand instances in which the peace and happiness of the family are ruined, and perhaps the misery entailed on the next generation, and all this may arise from causes trivial in themselves, and perhaps from a good but mistaken intention in one of the parties.

"I know you will say that I raise objections to your plans, and that I do not propose any substitutes. So it really is, and there is the great difficulty. There I am at a loss. I know not what to advise. I can only recur to the desirable object that you were well settled. And here we are to lament that no profession was determined on in a more early stage of your life to be pursued.

"And now a few words to the situation of my affairs, and the state of them last year you know as well as myself, for nothing is hid from you. To look at them therefore shows the necessity of some steady plan.

"We must resolve upon a certain allowance, and that resolution must be solemnly adhered to by us. And to speak plainly, upon the examination of your Mother, my and our housekeeping expenses are found upon the average of the last ten years to vary very little. The exceedings have arose from other sources, and you and your brothers have contributed much to them. It is impracticable for my plan, however well digested, to be executed, if it is to be broke in upon by uncertain, improper and unexpected demands. And, as I before said, some rule must be laid down, not to be departed from for any reason on any account whatever. And this I trust may be done so as to be with accuracy sufficient for my purpose.

"But it may be necessary to show you that my expenses have much exceeded my income for several years past.

"What is to become of me if Lord B., or any other person of whom I have money, shou'd call it in? Can you picture a more distressing situation, for in the present state of public affairs no money is to be had?"

MEMORANDUM BY COLONEL STRUTT.

". . . Still I was idle, and my father seeing how I lost my time by conversation induced me to quit town, and I came to my college friend Horlock and took up my quarters at Bath. I was a member of the York Card Club and dined there daily—the club was in good fashion. I was much at Ashwick, and I so liked Miss Horlock a beautiful good girl, that I told my mother. My father was against it and I took



LADY CHARLOTTE MARY GERTRUDE FITZGERALD, 1ST LADY RAYLEIGH
1758-1836

it to heart and requested permission to go abroad. At last my father consented and Tyrell wished to go with me.

"We went to [illegible] for me to learn the language. We were there about two months. My servant Marlay who had been in France in Languedoc, wishing to see that part of France again, declared that the French language was more pure at [illegible], and Tyrell and I left, and arrived at Toulouse where I determined, governed by my servant, to stay. There I found many Irish with whom I made no acquaintance, but at the expiration of a year I dined with an Irishman and there met Lady Charlotte Fitzgerald. I had long heard much in her praise.

"She went to Bareges and I to Bagnères. Of course having visited at Toulouse we were well acquainted, and I took it into my head to ride from the latter to the former across part of the Pyrenees, and in my ride I had a fierce thunderstorm. The clouds were below me, and I heard the rain, saw the lightening, and heard the thunder, and it was all below me. Though I had been only once before, in company with many, yet I arrived quite safe. The next morning there were about twelve persons left Bagnères thinking to find me somewhere dead, for I had started late in the evening without servant or guide and it was reckoned a full day's journey.

"The result of my visit was that I offered myself to Lady Charlotte under the proviso that if my Father did not approve it was no offer. I returned to England and I told my Father. He approved of how I had conducted myself with Lady Charlotte, but threw out some little circumstances—to which I replied that if I had not his full and free promise, I would not, and there was no obligation with Lady Charlotte for me to marry. And he gave me his unqualified assent, taking my word that she was sensible and I was sure she would study my Parents' happiness. I returned with Tyrell, was married, went into Spain, returned to Toulouse and inside eleven months I was blessed with Emily."

It is noticeable that the Colonel in this account skims lightly over the "little circumstances" which his father threw out on being informed of his provisional engagement to Lady Charlotte. We have to search elsewhere to find out what they were.

JOHN STRUTT M.P. TO MR. AYLMER (HIS SOLICITOR).

"This connexion is too high, and he would have had more chance with a lady of his own or a very little higher rank for true domestick happiness—and this I laid before him in strong terms before we began to treat on settlements etc. and I also had the difference of rank etc. fully stated to the Lady and her family."

Lady Charlotte Mary Gertrude Fitzgerald (1758-1836) was the daughter of the first Duke of Leinster. The Duke was very popular in Ireland, partly because he lived there almost entirely, spending his money either in Dublin where he built himself Leinster House (now the meeting place of the Irish Dail and Senate), or on his estate at Carton. In 1747 he married Lady Emily Lennox, one of the four talented daughters of the second Duke of Richmond. Of her three sisters, Caroline married Lord Holland and was the mother of Charles James Fox, Louisa married Thomas Connolly of Castletown, and was a close neighbour and great favourite of the Fitzgeralds at Carton, and Sarah, afterwards to become mother of the Napier brothers, heroes of the Peninsular War, had the peculiar distinction of refusing George the 3rd's offer of marriage. The Duchess of Leinster's letters show her to have been a woman of great sympathy and understanding, whose life centred in her family. Indeed this was an engrossing occupation, for she had no less than nineteen children by the Duke, and two more by her second husband, Mr.

Ogilvy. Her fourth son, the well-known Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in prison of wounds received in trying to escape arrest during the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and was the last person to be attainted, will be mentioned again later.

Charlotte was the fourth daughter and eighth child. Her father died when she was fifteen, and soon afterwards with her mother and the younger children she left Ireland for France. There they passed much of their time at Aubigny, which belonged to their uncle the Duke of Richmond. Later they moved to Toulouse, and here it was that the Duchess surprised London society by marrying William Ogilvy, the man she had engaged to tutor her sons. Lady Charlotte's diary contains what is perhaps the only contemporary record of this event.¹

"Toulouse. Wednesday, October 26th, 1774. After breakfast Stella [the Duchess], Davy [Mr. Ogilvy] and Charlotte had a very interesting conversation on a Subject which Davy and Charlotte had been conversing on before breakfast, and which determined Stella upon a certain point . . . Returned to dinner to the Inn where the Revd. Mr. Ellison, a fellow of Trinity College Dublin, was waiting for them. As dearest Stella had been for some time engaged to marry Davy, She was prevailed upon by his entreaties to embrace this favourable opportunity of an English Clergyman, and condescended to make Davy the happiest of Men, by fulfilling that engagement on which the Happiness of life depended. The marriage ceremony was performed by Mr. Ellison after dinner in the presence of Charlotte and Mrs. Rowley, the lovely Stella's woman. Stella was beautiful as an angel. Mr. Ellison went away soon after. Charlotte wrote letters—and the lovely and adorable Stella and Davy spent a happy dear evening."

Mr. Ogilvy was not liked by the Fitzgerald family, but Lady Charlotte always kept on good terms with him.

After returning from France Lady Charlotte came out in Dublin and family letters shew that in 1778 she had a disappointment of the heart in the person of Lord Jocelyn, son of the Earl of Roden. Following close on this in the same year she had a serious fall onto her head while riding at Carton, and its effect was to make her more or less an invalid for the rest of her life ; her family thought her rather too long-winded on the subject of her illnesses and their symptoms. In the summer of 1786 the quest for health drove her to stay near the Pyrenees in the company of her mother, her sister Lucy and her Ogilvy half-sisters. Eventually they separated, and Lady Charlotte went on to Toulouse, where in 1787 she met Col. Strutt. She was now twenty-nine years old, that is a few months older than him ; moreover she was no beauty to judge by a miniature painted at the time (though, according to a certain Dr. Downes who admired her greatly, she had been " Transcendently beautiful in early life ") but it was universally allowed that she had good sense and sound judgment and their marriage, which took place in the following year, proved an unqualified success.

¹ This diary is written in a fanciful novelish style, fictitious names being given to various characters in it.

FROM HER SISTER, THE COUNTESS OF BELLAMONT. SEPT. 26TH 1778.

"I trust in God you have now as fair a prospect of happiness before you as anybody can have, and returning health will enable you to enjoy it ; in short, my dear Charlotte, I have a presentiment that you will be very happy, and that mixture of Evil in this life which is pour'd into everybody's Cup is all over with you, and that the most unpleasant part of your life is past."

FROM HER BROTHER, LORD HENRY FITZGERALD. (UNDATED)

"The character of Col. Strutt, with your permission if you are not novelishly inclined (romantically wou'd be too dignified an expression) I'd rather call him Mr., the Colonel being rather *Bathish* and *Novelish*, seems in every point to suit you ; that being adjusted the rest follows all well. In short it is the most delightful thing that ever was. We are all particularly prepared as you would wish for his Arrival which is now dayly expected, my brother L. having had a letter from him to that effect, and tho' we are sure any guard upon ourselves will be unnecessary, have purged away all *niceties*, all *ridicules*, all *foolishnesses* that may have tarnished our natures, as effectually as Bodies are prepared for inoculation, so that we are sure that everything will be favorable on all sides. We intend not to be too much together when he comes so that his introduction to the whole may be brought about as little awkwardly and as much by degrees as possible, and with a *perfect knowledge of tact*. Rest at ease, we are all so well inclin'd and so much *au fait* of the business and what ought to be done, and it will not go off unpleasantly *to the Colonel* I am sure. Arah Darling, who should be welcome to sweet Ireland if the Col. was not ? "

FROM HER AUNT, LADY LOUISA CONOLLY. OCT. 7TH 1788.

"I like your account of Mr. Strutt's partiality for you ; it sounds so reasonable and so like person's being in earnest about marrying with a domestic view ; which indeed my dear Charlotte is the happiness of one's life."

FROM HER AUNT, LADY SARAH NAPIER. . OCT. 25TH 1788.

"Other women have met with happy marriage, therein you are not singular, but what appears so in your case is that not long ago melancholy thoughts on your situation *would* intrude themselves across one's best hopes : you seemed liable to continue a *Pilgrimage for Health*, God knows when and for how long ! and that it must be *chiefly* a solitary pilgrimage also appeared probable. The sudden transformation from *this* to the happiest state this world can give seems so wonderfull that it naturally leads one to try to trace the ways of Providence in such a blessing ! For who would suppose that by accident alone you showed such a sort of *obstinacy* in conquering your bad health, in spite of the various difficulties that occurred, difficulties that would have vanquished the resolution of most women ? Who can but wonder that you should succeed in bettering your health and at *that* time, and not before, meet in a small town abroad and a still smaller number of English, a man whom in the very largest field for choice would have been the man you and your friends preferred ? Indeed, my dear Charlotte, you have not passed a long time of sorrow for nothing It seemed necessary to form the foundation of your happiness that your intended husband should have an opportunity of seeing you long before he thought of marrying, seeing you *alone*, divested of all those advantages which the *Eclat* of a great family often gives, see you ill, patient, and acting entirely from your own good sense so as to give him a certainty of the character and disposition of one he liked

"I am charmed with the stile of old Mr. Strutt's letter by what I hear of it : it quite breathes the tone old English, independent, *proper* pride, so much to be depended on. Such a character is generally *consistent*"

FROM HER BROTHER, THE DUKE OF LEINSTER. NOV. 19TH 1788.

"In primis, as to himself, I think he is a pleasant gentlemanlike, good sort of man; secondly, I think you are a lucky woman in getting such a *charming* fellow, and thirdly I think he will make you a very comfortable good husband, as he seems to be a good humoured pleasant sensible man . . .

"Now it will remain for you to cherish the old people, who by all accounts are a worthy family and a respectable one: the father seems a little *huffy* about *anything* where his Honor is concerned, but I believe in a different way from *others* who are fond of the word but unfortunately do not understand the meaning."

FROM HER MOTHER, THE DUCHESS OF LEINSTER. NOV. 20TH 1788.

"Indeed, my dear Charlotte, we are excessively pleased with him. His Person was just what we expected, and your descriptions have been so exact that as we go on we every minute find him exactly what you told us he was, unaffected, cheerful and sensible, and every conversation I have had with him convinces me that you are equally right in the judgement you have formed of his true character and that the interior is equal to what appears, which is as perfectly pleasing and agreeable to my taste as anybody I ever met with; the expression of his eyes and his Countenance when he laughs puts me strongly in mind of Georgina Lennox's, he is like Sophia too and many other people. Some flattering likenesses have been found out, and others the reverse, but we all agree in thinking that good humour is predominant in his look. I like his healthy ruddy cheek, tho' not partial you know to a fine complexion in men, it gives him an animated look and I am sure he has a good heart. He is very quick, his eye penetrating but not so as to make one afraid of him. He is all attention to me and when I come into the room gives me a little pleas'd kind of look that promises me infinite comfort and satisfaction in this dear Son-in-Law . . . "

"The next day was Castletown and there we had talk enough. Sarah Donny, Conolly a little drunk, William Dt. kept it all going finely. Louisa and Sarah will write to you, and you may believe all they say about Mr. Strutt for they really were both vastly pleased with him. Conolly talked over his figure in one of his loud whispers 'a light little fellow!'—well made, has good legs, looks healthy! and so on in his way. Louisa and I assuring him he heard every word, he say'd '*So much the better! its all true and I am glad on't for Charlotte's sake.*' Charlotte's a good girl, *Devilish sensible, well made girl too, not handsome, not shaped like you,*' pinching my poor fat arm till he made it black and blue."

The following letter from Anne Strutt, her mother-in-law to be, sounds strangely formal to-day:

3rd October, 1788.

Dear Madam,

I admire your sentiments, and the goodness of your heart discloses itself in every line. I am charmed with the manner you speak of your Parents, and, if your family approve the connexion, happy must I be in such a daughter.

The reliance you wish to place in Mr. Strutt is highly flattering and be assured he will exert himself to enlarge the allowance tho' it must always fall short of supporting the way of life in which you have been brought up, and you will ever find him the best and most affectionate of fathers.

We ever looked upon our children as our companions and bosom friends, and that same confidence we shall hope to place in the breast of them whom their good sense may lead them to the choice of for life. Believe me, my dear madam, I have the greatest respect for birth and titles, but they will never influence me unaccompanied with that sound sense and discretion, which from your letter and from my dear son's relation you so fully possess . . .

Mr. Strutt begs to present his best compliments and good wishes with

Your ladyship's much obliged,

very humble servant,

Anne Strutt.

These letters shew that the Colonel was not less warmly welcomed as an in-law by the Fitzgeralds than was Lady Charlotte by the Strutts. But later, as political troubles developed in Ireland, differences of opinion began to arise between Lady Charlotte and some of her brothers and sisters, due to her growing sympathy with the uncompromising unionist attitude of the Strutts. One of the few members of her family in agreement with this attitude was her brother Charles, later created Lord Lecale for voting for the parliamentary union of the two countries and regarded by the Fitzgeralds as a traitor to Ireland in consequence. He writes to his sister some time after 1800. "The affection I have for you must apologise for my bad french. Give my love to Strutt, for I really both *love* and *respect* him; I like his *character* very much for *we agree*." Lady Charlotte's changing views, ending in her conversion to unionism, are illustrated in the following passages from letters written in 1793 (but undated).

LADY CHARLOTTE STRUTT TO LADY SOPHIA FITZGERALD.

"There were dangers attending some of them which made me more than usually anxious to hear of the Good Family. I understand your feeling about not going to Court. I should not be surprised if Mother never went there after the treatment of Eddy.¹ Not that it is in *them*, but Mr. Pitt who delights in trying to humble such noble families, but that is the way of shewing when People are displeased. 'Tis not a Party Business, 'tis an insult in my eyes which, unless Eddy was in actual *rebellion* the Good Family must resent, as I should were I in question; but we *Married Women* ought to divest ourselves of these family prejudices and see and hear only with the eyes of our husbands' families. There is an old saying that women should have no religion till they are married. It should be the same with regard to politicks in England. For my part I am too old to change my creed, and I admire what they are doing in Ireland . . ."

but in another letter the same year :

"The news and talk of England and Ireland is my brother Leinster's conduct. My brother wrote to the Lord Lieutenant to acquaint him with his intention of calling a meeting of the Co. Kildare for the purpose of petitioning the King to dismiss his ministers as the only means of saving the Kingdom . . . The worst of the times are that when people think differently, and yet think their lives and property and the security of their children are at stake, they grow warm with those who think differently, and Lord Carhampton is a very passionate man, and had a great regard for my brother and in his eyes (as in the eyes of nearly Everybody, indeed, that are not Party people) our dear Brother is giving encouragement to the rebels. Tho' he thinks very loyally, he is not certainly acting so in taking so warm a part against the Government, for if things are come to such a pass the friends of England must endeavour now to crush it *by force* or give Ireland up at once. Concession is too late; it would not now satisfy the really *Rebellious*, which I am afraid are numerous. The report of the Papers seized at Belfast show plainly that their object has been to copy France since the year 1791, and that reform and the R.C. cause is only a pretence. I am provoked at you saying I am a *staunch friend* of the present administration. It is not true, and there it is that none of my family understand me and Mr. Strutt, but, because we are not wishing that violent *unguarded man*, Mr. Fox, to be the head of things, we must of course be great admirers of the present administration . . . The country in general have no confidence in Mr. Fox on account of the very unguarded and unconstitutional sentiments he lets out continually in the House, and likewise on account of his connection with Sheridan and other *Bad Characters*, for he has supporters in the House of Commons that are too bad to be acknowledged as Gentlemen."

¹ Lord Edward had just been cashiered.

On which Lady Sophia comments in her journal,

"Charlotte is no longer of the Good Family. She is Mr. Strutt in petticoats, and he is Charlotte in trousers, and both Old Maids. 'Mr. Fox' indeed! As though the Good Family was not proud of the dear Cousin and his love of Liberty. Strutts will never do more than strut. I am proud of my brother Leinster . . ."

And Lady Lucy to Lady Sophia¹ in the same mood.

"You may tell Charlotte to make her Strutt mind easy, for that he (Lord Edward) is not in rebellion. She wrote Aunt Louisa a letter which threw her into fits, talking of the separation of England and Ireland."

From this distance in time we are able to see that Charlotte was not so far off the mark as Aunt Louisa supposed, though she was probably not making such a long range prophecy as 100 odd years in her own mind. But if, when the immediate débâcle came in 1798, and Lord Edward was dead, his wife driven into exile, and his children under the stigma of his attainder, if then some members of the family had to reproach themselves with encouraging rather than restraining the reckless disloyalty which was the direct cause of these results, Lady Charlotte was not among them.

There is no need to add much to Col. Strutt's own account of his parliamentary career already quoted. In his first address to his constituents he wrote that, if elected, he would model his public conduct on his father's, and in the event he consistently did so. Like his father he refused offers of place, and maintained his independence in and out of Parliament, though his vote was always given on the side of the Government, for his long career in the House of Commons happened to coincide almost exactly with an era of Tory rule. A member for forty years he made even less stir in the House than did his father in sixteen, and it does not appear that he ever spoke or drew attention to himself there. He had no ambitions in this direction, witness the following entry in Lady Charlotte's diary—

"May 17 1808. A very anxious day to J. H. S., who had undertaken to speak about a road bill in the H. of Commons, which, however, he settled to the satisfaction of *all parties* without making a speech in Parliament as he was afraid he must do. He came home much fatigued."

This retiring modesty made him an ideal M.P. from a party point of view—in spite of his nominal independence. By his personal influence and out of his own pocket he held one of the Maldon seats, and later Oakhampton (Devonshire), for the Government for forty years, and he could be relied on to vote, not only silently and regularly, but without requiring a bribe.

His active public work was done almost entirely in the county. Amongst other things he was concerned in the restoration to the borough of Maldon of its ancient charter. This charter had originally been granted by Henry II, and with subsequent ratifications and extensions remained in force until

¹ Regarding Lady Sophia's attitude towards her sister at about this time, the following extract from her journal ought perhaps to be taken into account :

"I was always small, pale and plain, with no shape. It is hard to be born like a farmyard fowl in a family of Wits and Frantics. Mama loved me less than her other children, and Charlotte copied Mama ; only Mama is a Goddess and Charlotte is a fool." It is only fair to add that after Lady Charlotte's death many years later, Lady Sophia wrote of her "In my eyes I thought her perfect, and always looked up to her as a superior (earthly) being."

George III's reign. In 1766 the bailiffs, then the heads of the corporate body, were illegally elected and judgment of ouster was obtained against them by the Crown in 1768. The time limit for a new election had meanwhile elapsed, with the consequence that the corporation was automatically dissolved. From then onwards the restoration to Maldon of its ancient rights and privileges played an important part in local politics. John Strutt had promised in his election address of 1774 that he would use his best endeavours to obtain the restoration of the charter, but this was not achieved until 1810 after some three years of negotiations with Mr. Perceval and other members of the Government. Col. Strutt's political enemies contended that he had exaggerated his services to the borough in these negotiations; in self-justification he had a booklet published¹, giving the correspondence which had passed between himself and others on the subject, and made out a tolerably good case for himself.

The actual value of the charter to Maldon is difficult to assess. It incorporated a mayor and aldermen, and thus enabled the borough to hold land and other property and to impose fines; it also restored certain fishing and port rights. But perhaps the main reason for the undoubted satisfaction of the burgesses was the added sense of self-importance which they felt in their restored civic dignity. So far as Col. Strutt was concerned the chief result was that the electorate was greatly enlarged by the admission of the new freemen, and there were considerable misgivings lest they should give their votes in the next general election to Mr. Gaskell, the Whig candidate who had obtained most of the credit for the restoration of the charter. Moreover there was more than a suspicion that Mr. Gaskell's agents were paying the fees necessary for the admission of numbers of poor working people in London and elsewhere, who had not sufficient means to claim their rights to the freedom of the borough.

It was, perhaps, doubts about the political centre of gravity of the new electorate as well as about increasing financial competition in the election field which made John Strutt bring pressure to bear on the Colonel to let it be known in 1811 that he would not stand again after the dissolution which was expected in the following year. Col. Strutt's political ambitions were by no means satisfied and he was most reluctant to retire at this stage, because, as he relates in his autobiography, the possibility of ultimately obtaining a peerage was very much in his mind; nevertheless, he acquiesced in his father's wish. The question then arose as to his future—how he should occupy himself, and where he should live when it was no longer necessary for him to reside in London. His idea was to buy a cottage at Dedham and remain there until his father's death, living quietly and economically, altogether withdrawn from public life.

COL. J. H. STRUTT TO GENERAL STRUTT.

12th Oct. 1811.

"You say you are sorry to see I give up the county business, and then you ask me whether I may not repent of it at some *future day*. At a future day! What, when I am sixty or past? But in answer, I never in my life liked to do things

¹ "To the Free Burgesses of Maldon by their very obliged and faithful servant, J. H. Strutt," printed by Nichols, Son and Bentley, Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street.

by halves and not being often in Essex I found attending upon few occasions I was necessarily uninformed of previous details of the business on which others grounded their opinions, and in which my judgement would have enabled me *perhaps* to have taken the lead in the deliberations.

"With views of comfort, of economy, of county business and of being within reach and not too near my father (by the bye this puts me in mind that to induce me to marry Terling Place was when I was about 23 years of age held out to me¹: when I married Taylor's House—Leithfields I believe it is called—was held out to me. Both hints were improvident: the first I should have had no comfort in during the lives of my parents, and the latter would have been unwise to have occupied) I thought of Dedham, but this he would not aid me in or approve. And I think in this his wisdom failed him. He, setting aside the obliging me, chose to judge for us of the comforts and conveniences of the situation.

"If it should be my intention hereafter to pay a close attention to County business I shall, if ever I reside in Essex which I very much doubt, have the facilities of engaging in this labour with an advantage which no other person being so long a non-resident in the County could have. But I am not now young, and my further connexion with the County in a few months will be at an end. In fact I think for the prosperity of our family—a comprehensive word including minor as well as major points—my Father has objected where he ought at my time of life to have left me to myself. Years are come upon him and he has lived retired and will not advance with the times, but retains warmth in his own opinions to the contrary of others. Do not think in thus stating my opinion that my mind accuses my Father; it has thought his judgement respecting his own family sometimes inferior or timid, but my mind is at ease. What I called and call my laudable ambition is past, and I am content (though I would that I had bettered the condition of my family beside in that of my marriage) to descend quietly to the end of my days, thinking, as I always shall, that I am descended from an honorable man and have an excellent Father.

"My lot will probably be to live much out of Essex during my Father's life, but always holding myself in readiness to attend him whenever he signifies his pleasure.

"Can it be, between ourselves, thought that I have pleasure in shutting myself and family up in a lonely village in an hired uncomfortable house, living with strict economy, not seeing a soul and in my rides speaking only to illiterate farmers whose occupations I do not understand? Is this an enviable life? Thank God my wife cheerfully complies, and my children are good and happy with me.

"If ever I reside in Essex, old as I shall be, I shall endeavour by attentive civility and correctness of conduct to draw around me those of all ranks who have been obliged by me—and they are not alone in the middle orders—and also those who have been with me in the Militia, who are many gentlemen of the County. And this line I shall adopt for the obtaining the little and greater advantages which may be within my reach in the County for John, and to make him well received. For our family stands on a pinnacle, not on a tower with a broad basis, and but for *our personal conduct* our situation in the County is according to vulgar prejudice in the County inferior to many families."

Fortunately, this distress was shortlived, for when the election came in 1812, John Strutt relented at the eleventh hour and Col. Strutt was returned with Mr. Gaskell unopposed. This result was obtained owing to the timely withdrawal of the previous Whig member, Mr. Western, who was returned for the county instead of for Maldon.

So much for Col. Strutt's political activities. His other great interest was the Militia, and in the following memorandum he relates how he first came to be associated with it.

¹ See page 35.

In the last year of the seven years' American War, crowned to them by their independence, the Lieutenant Colonelcy of the West Essex, to which regiment I was well known, was offered to my Father for me. And well I remember while I was with my Father and Mother, asleep after tea having had a hard day's hunting, my Father roused me from my sleep and said, "Should you like to be a Colonel in the Militia?" I replied in the affirmative. He then said, "Take these letters to Lt. Col. Huns stationed at Romford, then go to Sir William Smyth (for whom my Father had procured the regiment) at Hill Hall, and then go to Earl Waldegrave at Navestock." They were all civil to me, and I was appointed Lt. Col.

In 1792 the Militia was called out, and we were encamped at Waterdown, and on a field day when the Duke of Richmond and his staff were close to me I received the order to make the West Essex to retreat by files. I knew not what to say when Major Swallow rode up and, instead of coming close to me telling me what to say, he called at the highest pitch of his voice: "Col. Strutt, I will give the word." This was so *unfriendly* that I lost no time in drilling when the Col. was not present and brought the regiment and myself perfect in all Dowall (?) moves, so much so that at the Prince of Wales' dinner when about thirty officers, generals, their staffs and my colonel were at table, the Prince said: "Col. Strutt, you have brought the Essex into a high state of discipline, and perform correctly." Swallow and Sir William Smyth were so jealous that . . .

However, it was not only on Sir William Smyth's side that jealousy was shewn. There was never much love lost between him and Col. Strutt, either in early days when the latter served under the command of Sir William in the West Essex; or later, when Col. Strutt raised and commanded a rival regiment, the South Essex; or later still (1805) when Sir William resigned the West Essex and tried, but failed, to induce Lord Braybrooke the Lord Lieutenant, not to gratify Col. Strutt's great ambition to return to and command his old regiment, the West Essex. But to come back to early jealousies.

COL. J. H. STRUTT TO CAPT. J. TYRELL.

Harley Street, 11 Feb. 1796. Dear Tyrell, I have this instant received your letter informing me of your having agreed to the purchase of the house and part of the Boreham estate. The news forced into my mind sensations of joy. Recollecting you as a boy, our long and intimate acquaintance, and connecting that you had at last fixed yourself to your own satisfaction upon a spot where it was probable that by a continued and uninterrupted intercourse of friendship we might mutually and happily pass our days, I confess I have nearly as much joy as yourself.

If at any moment our friendship has caused an anxious hour to each other, I can only say that *my regard and liberal views* towards you made me wish to continue, as I had always cherished the idea that by attention and friendship I should preserve you as a friend. Look round and tell me where I have a friend. I have certainly many friendly acquaintances, and I know I deserve them for I have no views but what are honest and liberal, but where have I a friend *excepting in you*? And knowing that I had such claims upon you, and feeling the constancy of my own mind toward you—that *everyone* stood second to you in my regard, that no considerations of advantage or of consequence could shake that constancy—I was grieved that I had reason to think that our intercourse might since the war have abated. And I forced myself to write particularly to you in the voice of truth and of friendship, and, though the sentiments therein expressed will ever live with me, yet the cause will always remain in oblivion, and I now look upon your being fixed *near to me* as a circumstance to bind that friendship which so early, when you was *entirely unacquainted* with men and with the world, existed between us.

Sir William [Smyth] is to you a new acquaintance to whom my Father and self introduced you, and you are right in cultivating his friendship. But, my good friend, do not appear, as I know you do not in your own mind feel, *humble to anyone*. I remember last summer, and I do not believe I did it again during the whole campaign, I asked you to walk to Brighton, to which you gave me no answer. A little after Sir William came up, and he said "Captain T. will you walk to Brighton. You instantly replied "Yes, Sir William," a circumstance trivial in appearance, but unpleasing to the feelings of an old friend.

I do verily believe that if I found all the advice and liberal notions which I attempted to throw into your mind (when you used to be constantly with me) and all my attentions to you at a time when you had no young friend or knew any but your Father and Mother, if they were to be thrown away, and myself given up for a new acquaintance, I confess such circumstance would so affect my mind that I should be inclined to have no pleasure in the world. For I guarded you as scrupulously as a Brother, and *I am not conscious of anything but which is completely right and affectionate from me to you*.

To me, *you are aware*, Sir William can only be a friendly acquaintance, for he would not I rather think stir one jot out of his way to serve me, though I have been eager to act a friendly part towards him. The only favour of some importance to me I ever asked of him was to give me his countenance at Maldon on the day of election, and that he refused for reasons best known to himself; however obliged he is to my Father. But in this I was not disappointed because I never regarded him as more than a friendly acquaintance. My friend knows no competitor in my heart, and I hope I have none in his.

I may be little known: I am influenced by no external grandeur or consequence, and it was you *alone* that made me dine with the Prince early in the last campaign. This may surprise you, but it is a fact. During our sitting in the court martial the Prince's conduct was such as could not meet with the approbation of considerate and upright men, as he used to come into court and brow-beat the one party and smile upon the other and reciprocally smile with the president. In consequence I avoided him when I knew he had his eye fixed upon me to invite me to dinner, and so I conducted myself till the last day of the court martial. When, the day preceeding that, I found by your conversation "*that Sir William was become a great man, and intimate with the Prince,*" and that *consequence* was attached to that which I held as light and improper, under these circumstances I then showed the Prince that I was willing to be invited, and *I was so instantly*, the proceedings of the court being over. I did this that in the eyes of the generality of people I might not lose that consequence which my own reputation and the situation I held in the regiment induced me to maintain. These were my real motives for first avoiding and then inviting the notice of the Prince; for as much as I always despise improper conduct in the great, yet when rank and titles are worn with honour no one gives them more respect than myself.

It is by such correct ideas as these that I conduct myself in the business of life steadily and independently. Governed by these ideas I walk in and out of the House of Commons, *a known character*, never asked to do the dirty business as it is called. Such is my conduct, governed by such doctrines as these, and let them be yours. They will diffuse over your whole conduct a manliness and liberality which in all your actions will be advantageously conspicuous to the circle of your acquaintances. I am, dear Tyrell, with sincere joy at your having completed the object of your wishes, most truly your friend, J. H. S.

Col. Strutt never saw active service, and probably the most exciting incident in his military career was a mutiny, which he helped to put down.

CAPTAIN TYRELL TO COL. J. H. STRUTT

Horsham Barracks. May 29th, 1797. Trusting you will hear of the mutiny which has taken place here, tho' in much haste, will give you a few particulars. It will give you pleasure to learn the Essex behaved nobly, and Sir William pacified

the mutinous, without whom I know not what would have happened. In consequence of the new allowance to soldiers the Derby gave orders for a new contract to be made for meat, which for some time past had been complained of. On the parade last night the Bedford, some time after being dismissed, had a long parley with Col. Payne, after which they began to shout. They then ran to the Derby who did the same. The Essex immediately retired by orders to their rooms and went to bed. Things being rather quiet, Col. Payne went off. A great shout soon after ensued and several officers of the Derby and Bedford improvidently collared some men and dragged them to the guard. Hearing the shout Sir William and I, who left the parade as soon as dismissed, returned, when the Major of the Derby shewed Sir William the order, and whilst a consultation was held about 200 of the Derby saying *go it* set off declaring they would rescue them. First they began pelting the guard and at last made an attack, and were twice received with fixed bayonets. Finding this would not do, they declared they would bring their arms, and accordingly set off; on which the guard beat to arms, the picquets were ordered out by Sir William, he took down his own, and gave me orders to turn out the whole regiment, which was done in a short time. But at this time near 100 of the Derby with fixed bayonets *marched* down in order, *vowing* they would *force* the guard. When arrived very near, Sir William ordered them to halt, which to my surprise they did, muttering *go it* etc. etc. and one man ported arms and was going to make a dash at him. The Derby Major they would not hear, but on Sir William reasoning with them and releasing the prisoners they returned tolerably quiet. Whilst this was doing our Artillery with light match and portfire had begun with charging the great guns; after which Sir William wrote to summon W. Meadows, *who is now here*. To make it worse there is a great fair today, and a row may be expected in the evening. But as the morning went off well we are in hopes all will be quiet. If some severe examples are not made there will be *an end of the army*. If anything else happens I will write. P.S. They have tampered with ours [regiment] but I hope with no success. I shall be glad when we leave them.

MEMORANDUM BY COL. STRUTT.

I was attending the Prince and Duke of York at 2 in the morning. They sent to order me to Horsham as the Derby and West Essex were in a state of mutiny. I arrived at 10 and the West Essex marched towards Chichester. When we arrived there with about 30 prisoners Sir William Smyth said he was forced to go to London, and asked me what he should do with the prisoners. I told what he judged proper I would do. He said, "Sir, I think we had better release them," and he did. The next morning he left the regiment and I had it out on the hill. The grenadier and most of his company would not shoulder or obey. I called the adjutant and told him to observe the grenadier. He did. I then ordered the regiment to fall in line, and I gave in a strong tone of voice "Attention." Some did not, and it passed my mind that the disobedience would be more evident by my order to shoulder arms. Several of the grenadiers did not; and I walked up myself and took out one who had not shouldered, called officers, fixed a court martial, the adjutant gave his evidence and the man was flogged immediately. I told the adjutant to dismiss the regiment by companies to their quarters and that the regiment was to be on the hill at 10 o'clock the next morning. I did as before and flogged 2 more immediately, and the next day all was orderly, and from that time to November, when I left and spoke to the regiment, there was not a man in the guard-house, and that orderly conduct continued. Then it was I left the regiment to take the supplementary regiment [South Essex] as Colonel, and I asked the Colonel to let only one sergeant follow me: and I feared to ask any officers, but I found they were all pressing to accompany me . . .

COL. STRUTT TO T. B. BRAMSTON.

As the time approaches for the expiration of the contracts with the butchers and bakers, I am at present convinced in my own opinion that contracts are most

beneficial to the good of the soldier, and to the order of the regiment, and to the preserving a proper distance between non-commissioned officers and privates. It is according to order, and I am at present convinced that it is in every point of view a beneficial order. You suggested to me that contracts were the rise of discontent at Horsham; be it so in the opinion of those who were present at that disturbance, I rather differ. I impute it to the relaxed state of discipline in other regiments, they having arrived at that pitch of insubordination and *free* will that they were hardly to be commanded in the common routine of duty. The West Essex had been an orderly regiment, but it caught the contagion and the result was a compliance with their declared desire to have no contract. What was the consequence? When I came to the regiment at Chichester I found it changed for the worse. I found it hardly manageable; it was eminently evident in the light company, and it was spread into the grenadiers and battalion, and till I spoke my mind clearly and determinedly to individuals it was getting ahead. But anticipating the intentions of the soldiers and setting my strength against the light company, and throwing discord amongst the soldiers, I did leave the regiment in good order in the autumn, tho' the evil still existed in the light company. But that was continued by causes which I could not well counteract. A young regiment like the South Essex must not be suffered to have its will; it must be governed by its officers with strict discipline and *justice*, both accompanied with good nature. If soldiers under the inspection of sergeants are to lay in their own mess, it not only creates trouble and employs time, but it either creates a too good will between the sergeant and soldiers—the former being too slack in his duty—or it creates ill will, for such I experienced at Chichester. A contract presents the meat at a certain hour; everything is fixed and regular. A liberal contract with the trader, with beneficial terms to the soldiers, is better than driving the trader to too hard a bargain. It keeps the trader in good humour to serve his contract well, and from this arises content and satisfaction in the soldier.

Col. Strutt's military, like his political services were on the whole unspectacular, but they were nevertheless of real value, for a French invasion was considered an imminent danger. Between 1790 and 1805 he spent some weeks in almost every year in camp with his regiment at various places on the East and South coasts of England. Activity in coastal defence was of the utmost importance so long as Napoleon's troops were concentrated at Boulogne, but the danger of invasion passed with the battle of Trafalgar in 1805.

In his autobiography Col. Strutt lays great stress on George III's promise of a reward, but we may take leave to doubt whether it was really so important a factor in obtaining Lady Charlotte a peerage as the Colonel would have us believe. At all events his ambition was not achieved until George IV's accession, when the Royal intention to lower¹ her to the rank of a Baroness was conveyed to Col. Strutt in the following letter from Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister of the day.

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL TO COL. STRUTT, M.P.

Private.

F. H. 2 June, 1821.

Dear Sir,

In the correspondence which I had with you some years ago, I stated to you fairly that if ever it should be the intention of the King to raise any number of English gentlemen to the peerage without reference to claims for public services I would bring your case under the consideration of His Majesty.

¹ A duke's daughter married to a commoner ranks higher in order of precedence than a baroness, as Colonel Strutt did not fail to point out when it suited his purpose to do so.

I can now acquaint you that I have done so, and that though His Majesty has the utmost reluctance to increase the peerage beyond the limits of the strictest necessity, yet, under the special circumstances which I have represented to him, He is disposed to confer a peerage upon Lady Charlotte Strutt and the heirs male of her body.

I can have no doubt that this decision of His Majesty will be satisfactory to you, and I am sure you will see that I have done all that could reasonably be expected of me, particularly when I add that I have abstained from pressing upon His Majesty any one personal friend of my own, though I have several who might be considered as having fond pretensions to such a distinction.

I will beg of you till you hear from me again not to allow the purport of this letter to transpire, except to Lady Charlotte and those of your family on whose discretion you can rely.

COL. STRUTT M.P., TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

Cumberland Place. 4 June 1821.

My Lord,

I have the honor of receiving your Lordship's kind letter of the 2nd instant . . . I beg leave to assure your Lordship that you judge right in supposing that no doubt exists but that the decision taken is perfectly satisfactory to me, and that my mind is fully persuaded that your Lordship has done what could be expected, and if your Lordship should think it advisable I shall be thankful to have my most humble duty and acknowledgments laid before His Majesty for his gracious bounty towards me, and humbly to represent to His Majesty the high sense Lady Charlotte Strutt and myself entertain of His Majesty's high favor.

I shall strictly adhere to your Lordship's wish, and, though I have the fullest reliance in my son's discretion, yet your Lordship's communication is not (and will not be) known but to Lady Charlotte Strutt, who, on account of her affection to our children, receives this high distinction to my family with a full sense of the gracious bounty of our sovereign, and also of your Lordship's kindness to us . . . and it is very acceptable to receive this reward from His present Majesty, whose administration of the affairs of these kingdoms has fully met the approbation of all his subjects who are anxious for the preservation of our constitution in Church and state.

My Lord, I beg pardon for taking this occasion of expressing my feelings of satisfaction by this favor being presented at the instance of your Lordship—whose abilities, sound judgment, firmness and direct constitutional conduct are universally acknowledged, and, I may add, private virtues, which latter, in a minister of state, will ever find weight with good providence for the welfare of the nation; and with expressing my earnest supplications for your Lordship's comfort under any severe trial, and for your health—for the advantage of these kingdoms.

I have the honor to be, with great feelings of obligation,

Your Lordship's faithfully,

J. H. Strutt.

P.S. I know not when the title should be mentioned. I have thought of the parish in Essex which formerly belonged to Sir Denner Strutt, Bart., in King Charles the first's time, in the Church of which there is a costly monument of Sir Denner Strutt, with his banners, Armour, etc.

The reason why the territorial title was ultimately taken from Rayleigh, and not from Little Warley, is obscure. The family had no special connection with Rayleigh, and the name seems to have been chosen simply because it

was considered euphonious. The supporters were borrowed one from each side of the family. The Duke of Leinster gave leave for the historic Fitzgerald monkey to be taken, and the Marquis of Bath (distantly connected to Col. Strutt through the marriage of one of his Goodday ancestors with a Thynne) raised no objection to the inclusion of the reindeer which was one of his own supporters. At the same time the coat of arms and crest, based on Sir Denner Strutt's,¹ were formally authorised by the College of Heralds; they had been irregularly used by the family for very many years before.

¹ Sir Denner Strutt adopted the Arms of his maternal grandfather, Edward Denner, who had adopted the Arms of his maternal grandfather, Alexander Wrightington.

CHAPTER VII.

WE have looked at Col. Strutt's public services, and have seen how they were rewarded. His domestic life was regulated by his activities in Parliament and in the Militia. He made his home in London for the greater part of the year, taking long leases of 13, Lower Seymour Street, and 45, Upper Grosvenor Street, at different times. He and Lady Charlotte entertained and went about a good deal during the week, and on Sundays the children would be taken to see their old maiden great aunts, Sarah and Anne Strutt at 90, Sloane Street, where they lived.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LADY CHARLOTTE'S MAID.

To be up at seven ; to go downstairs and give from the larder to the cook, bread, butter and meat, sufficient for the breakfasts of the Family ; to write the bill of fare, and to see that the maids are cleaning the house as ordered, and that the footman is cleaning the table, and every Monday and Tuesday morning that he is helping the housemaids clean the windows.

To come into Lady Charlotte's room at 8 in general, but when the fire is in her room she must come in a little before 8 to put all the things in the list to the fire ; she is then to open a little bit of the windowshutters, and to put everything according to the list into a bag which is to be left hanging before the fire till Lady Charlotte asks or rings for it. When Lady C. is dressed, to go downstairs again and to receive from the cook the meat, etc., which was given out for breakfast, when the larders will be cleaned out by the cook and everything put by tidy. When she receives the orders for dinner she will see that there is bread and cheese enough laid out for lunch, and deliver out the meat and vegetables ordered for dinner. After dinner the cook must bring you all the eatables that are left, and you will see them placed in your own larder immediately before you go upstairs. The tea things to be laid out by half past six.

Between 8 and 9 o'clock Lady Charlotte's things to be prepared for going to bed so as to have it in her power to go to bed at 9—the things to be all warmed and put into the bag according to the list as is done in the morning. Barley water to be ready for Lady Charlotte every night and made in her own silver saucepan. By nine o'clock every night regularly the bread and cheese will be ready for the men's suppers, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine all cleared away, when Lady Charlotte's maid, if not with Lady Charlotte, will be below and receive the daily grease from the cook to put into the store pan.

She will then see that all things are put away tidy everywhere and that part of the family¹ which are not wanted to go to bed at 10 o'clock, the cook being in readiness to go upstairs with the housemaid the instant that the housemaid has put away the warming pan—carefully after warming the bed. Thus *all* being gone to bed, when Lady Charlotte's maid leaves Lady Charlotte's room she is to go downstairs and see that all the doors and windows are fastened right and tight and fires safe.

Lady Charlotte's maid washes up the breakfast and tea things. She gives out the necessary articles for the day such as candles etc., the linen for dinner. To receive and weigh the meat ; to compare the weight with the tally, and the tallies with the weekly bill ; to get all the weekly bills in on Monday. To keep the weekly

¹ i.e.: Servants.

book *daily* and put down daily what is brought in. To follow the Family regulations as to butter, vegetables, candles, etc. To put down in a book the amount of the week's washing bill, to examine the washing bill and to give them every week to Lady Charlotte.

We have already seen how at one time the Colonel seriously thought of buying a small house in the village of Dedham on the Essex-Suffolk border. Events did not turn out exactly as he had expected at that time, but he and his family did rent Rookery Cottage in Dedham for several months in 1808 and 1810, and again in 1815. The main idea seems to have been to economise by retiring to a quiet spot remote from the dissipations and responsibilities of London life.

Before his father's death Col. Strutt used to complain of poverty, and in later life he wrote :

"I was offered a place in government called £3,000 a year, which with the consent of your mother I declined, preferring penury which induced me and my daughters to breakfast on a penny worth of milk with water and dry bread, that I might be free in public life as an M.P. Then my younger brother sent £5 to enable my daughters to have tea, sugar and butter at breakfast."

A natural inference would be that his father gave him an inadequate allowance, but an examination of the Colonel's income and expenditure makes these economies seem out of all proportion to his means. After his marriage his allowance had been raised to £700 a year, and it was further increased to £850 a year in 1796. Then, Lady Charlotte, in spite of being one of such a large family, had a fortune of £10,000 which brought in £460 a year. Thus their combined incomes amounted to over £1,300 a year gross ; the net figure might have been about £100 a year less, for there was then little direct taxation, and of course money went a good deal further than it does now. Moreover, John Strutt paid all the Colonel's election expenses and all the expenses of his grandson's education. If further evidence were needed of Col. Strutt's lack of proportion in his breakfast economies, it is surely supplied by the fact that his annual wine bill alone amounted to £40 or £50 ; finally, since in any case he overspent his income by some £163 a year on the average between 1788 and 1806, a shilling or two a day laid out on breakfast would have made no great difference to his budget deficit.

COL. STRUTT TO JOHN JAMES STRUTT.

(1814)

"Your grandfather was very severe with me for asking money, not for myself, but for that which I conceived to be your advantage, and my income to spend is not so much now as he told me more than 25 years ago I could not live upon, and yet I have not asked him for any money. Therefore, I leave it to you not to let me suffer by your having this unnecessary article, a newspaper . . .

"So much respecting money, the want of which has been a great disadvantage to myself, Emily and my family, and will probably be a very great misfortune if your grandfather should live a few years longer, but I would in a comparative view cheerfully suffer this if I could obtain for him health and happiness—but I daily pray for it.

"Your grandfather's letter contains many wholesome maxims. He says the constitution is founded on monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. I will add it will end in a military government or a convulsion before 40 years are expired."

Col. Strutt can hardly have expected to live long enough to be proved right or wrong ; nor in fact did he. But two years before his death he was evidently quite unrepentant of the prophecy made twenty-nine years earlier, and writes in the same gloomy strain.

COL. STRUTT TO GENL. STRUTT.

(1843)

"What a miserable state the nation is in ! Twenty years ago I said it was at its zenith, and Sir R. Peel has precipitated its downfall by free trade. Before we marched to Paris Lord Liverpool, at a meeting with him, told us country gentlemen M.P.s, when we modestly asked for the import price to be 75, said for the state of the country in relation to others and the debt, he thought 80, and so it was fixed. When you consider what a frightful state we are in—Radicals, chartists, distressed manufactories, an income declining, debt increasing, interest not paid or paying *though there is a property tax*, Ireland upon the verge of Rebellion, the Duke of Wellington old and Peel not of strength of *mind* to govern the nation—*What a state !* Farewell, you and I may not die in peace . . . "

As a landowner and farmer in Essex, Col. Strutt was of course deeply interested in the Corn Laws, and in view of the fears and doubts expressed in the passages quoted above one would perhaps conclude that his financial position caused him some anxiety. Again, writing to the General at a time when he was engaged on an expensive alteration :

(1837)

"I wish I had never begun. I must build more farm houses and take down cottages, etc. My account for these things is very heavy. It is well I never launched out at the death of my father in keeping hounds, harriers, a stud, or put my establishment upon a handsome footing."

(1842)

"My affairs are not prosperous ; my farm, which had, when I was present and bought stock, always given me a good return (beyond what I should have had if I had let it)—one year £800, but Ellis' salary £300 ! being put to the farm the profit was £500 a year—but now there is a deficit. But upon the whole, after making up Olivia's fortune and John's allowance, and living in a frugal way at Bath, I live within my income."

Col. Strutt considered himself a very good judge of agricultural land, and had a high opinion of his own shrewdness in business matters generally. The following passage in a letter to Mrs. Drummond brings this out.

(1843)

When I farmed 500 acres I made clear money in my pocket from my farm, after all and every possible expense inserted, a clear £800 beyond rent and all outgoings. Western¹ in examining my books said with an oath he could not have believed it, "But," he said "I do not see interest charged." I replied "Supposing my capital in the farm was £3,000, its interest at the most is £150, but I have got a clear £800 beyond what I should have received had I let the 500 acres." Then he said expenses at fair. I then gave him the history of one day. The pony I now ride I mounted one morning at Terling and rode to Southend, breakfasted with my brother who sent me to Wakering to a sale of cart-horses. I fixed a price on three and obtained them. I returned and, having a long day's journey in view I took

¹ Charles Callis, Baron Western of Rivenhall (1767-1844), M.P. for Maldon 1790-1812 ; M.P. for Essex 1812-1832. Although nominally a Whig, he was the mouthpiece of the Agricultural interests in the House of Commons and a staunch advocate of protection.

luncheon and mounted my pony, rode to Rayleigh, got into a hack postchaise and drove to Brentwood. I walked into the fair field, near a mile. I walked 2 hours before I bought 70 or more bullocks, walked back to Brentwood, got into a hack postchaise again and got to Terling. And this day's work I shewed to Western as noted in my farm account, and all the return I got from him was surprise and again an oath. You see I am as prosy in farming as Sir J. T[yrell], and we both equally tire those to whom we address ourselves. Western said the yearly balance in his farming was between two and three thousand pounds against him. I applauded, saying he understood and advantaged the country, but that I was perfectly ignorant and only farmed as my father did.

But in spite of Col. Strutt's farming profits, evidently as unusual in a country gentleman then as now, the general tenor of the quotations given undoubtedly suggests that the Colonel was not doing much more than hold his own financially. It is therefore surprising enough to find that, quite apart from funded property, his rent roll was close on £10,000 a year, and that during the thirty years between his succeeding his father and his death he bought 2,330 acres of land at a total cost of no less than £103,000 entirely out of his savings in that period.

A memorandum written about 1818 in characteristic self-righteous style gives Col. Strutt's views about charity :

J. H. S. AS TO CHARITY.

J. H. S. allotted and gave £300 to London charity the first year.

To the poor of the parish J. H. S. has given yearly bread, and they were not forgot when he was in France. He takes care there shall be wood for the poor to buy, and last year had it sold at a cheap rate at his own expense.

He lowered the rents of several of the poor cottagers. He gave a pint of ale every evening in harvest to Harry Smith, and employs him for charity sake.

He is mindful of, and wishes the comfort of and indulgence to the poor, but he cannot assent to an indiscriminate eating and drinking in his house ; it is productive of much inconvenience, is improper, and *is not charity*. As to occasional acts of giving meat beer and made wines (and in very particular instances, particularly recommended by the parish apothecary, wine) under the immediate order at the time by Lady Charlotte, J. H. S. does not object.

He has stated what immediately occurs to him, but is open to hear and kindly attend to anything on this subject which may be thought proper to be done or considered.

He has passed many years in much reflection, and perhaps the ingratitude of man may have made him curtail in his own mind those spontaneous sentiments of charity natural to him.

Who could be more kind to his workmen ? [While he was] in France they had much beer and ale, and he raised their wages : the return was their robbing him and defrauding him of their work for his kindness, and had they not been his father's workmen he ought not to have kept one of them. There is no breast which has greater satisfaction in being kind.

About the year 1836 Col. Strutt sent the Archbishop of Canterbury fifty pounds towards the relief of the suffering Irish clergy, and in 1843 he sent him a further sum with this letter :

Col. Strutt presents his most respectful consideration to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and ventures to request the favor of His Grace to apply the inclosed one hundred pounds to the most approved association for the extension of our beneficent Religion as by law established, for Col. Strutt is retired from the world being nearer 90 than 80 years of age.

This year he sent one hundred pounds towards relieving the manufacturing poor, nevertheless he thinks as Parliament has attempted to restrain the cupidity

of the master manufacturers, it should have contrived to have effected by enactments a plan to lead the wretched congregated poor to be better Christians, better subjects.

Col. Strutt in his early days used to hear his Father, who was many years in Parliament, declare his opinion that the manufactures would overwhelm the other substantial interests of the nation and in its results be fatal to the constitution in Church and State. So Col. Strutt, a Tory, felt during the forty successive years he was in Parliament, and now judges in the recent great change in the system of finance for the benefit to the vast manufacturing population that his late Father's apprehension is advancing with rapid strides.

The normal annual routine was for the family to go on a driving tour of visits directly after the London season which ended on the King's birthday, June 4th. They used to spend about six weeks in this way, visiting Devonshire, Wales, etc., at various times, and then settle down for a short winter at Terling till the meeting of Parliament. Lady Charlotte never returned to Ireland after her marriage. She went once to North Wales, and even crossed the Menai Bridge out of curiosity, but it was then many years since her marriage, and she shrank from seeing her old home with most of the well-remembered faces gone.

Like most country gentlemen of his day, Col. Strutt was greatly interested in the decoration and improvement of his house, both inside and outside. In 1818 work was begun at Terling Place on the addition of the wings, said to have been inspired by those at Carton.

"Dear J. H. S.,

I am very sorry that I cannot be present at the ceremony of laying the first stone of the addition made by you to your Father's pretty house. I approve of Emily's doing so as our firstborn. Should not the mortar be wet with some of the beer brewed when John was born!! All happiness and prosperity attend *you all*.

Ever your affectionate, C. Strutt." 20 Aug. (1818).

The alterations to the house included a new front staircase (the old one had been in the saloon), the creation of the present dining-room by throwing two rooms together, the changing of the front door to the north side of the house, and the conversion of the old dining-room into the present library by throwing into it the narrow passage which had led to the front door (until then on the south side of the house). While the building was going on the family divided their time between London, the old dairy, Leithfields farmhouse (now pulled down, but then standing at Warners Corner, on the river side of the road) and Tofts. They moved into Terling Place on the 20th Nov. 1819.

Col. Strutt also gave a good deal of attention to planting and laying out the grounds and park so as to produce an imposing landscape-gardening effect. His father had diverted the Hatfield-Terling road to remove it further from the house, and to bring part of what is now known as the Cow-pasture into the park. Col. Strutt aimed at yet more complete isolation. He was not quite so ruthless as those of his contemporaries who removed whole villages in order to gain extra space for their grounds, but he did gradually buy up most of the cottages in the village, and eventually (about 1832) pulled down a row of them which stood in 'Terling Street' along what is now the drive parallel to the East wall of the Churchyard, and another row in Mill Street which extended along the South side of the Church Green from

the Tudor House to the Dairy Hill. He also pulled down the little water-mill at the Swan pond, and added the rest of the Cow-pasture to the park.

He had a good deal of the tyrant in him, and perhaps the villagers had just a shadow of excuse in thinking that the letters I.H.S. at the East end of the Church stood for Joseph Holden Strutt.

In 1837 he made the steep terrace embankment between the house and the Church. Before the embankment was made the house had stood on a slope, the ground falling away gradually from the Church to the river on the south-west. Col. Strutt's idea was to place the house on an artificial knoll, and to get the effect of the ground falling away to the north as well as to the south-west. The expense was perhaps hardly justified by the effect obtained, and the Colonel himself shortly afterwards expressed regret that he had ever embarked on it. Certain other ambitious projects such as moving the road out in a broad sweep through Rolls, Ringers and Porridgepot, planting a thick belt of trees all round the edge of the park, and creating an artificial lake in the Ter Valley by damming the river at Maddox Hall, never progressed beyond the paper stage.

Perhaps this is the place to tell of a tragic accident which occurred on Oct. 8th, 1818, when Lady Charlotte's nephew, Charles Fitzgerald (son of Lord Robert Fitzgerald) was drowned in the decoy pond. The first part of the story is told by Mr. J. T. Tyrell, son of Sir John Tyrell of Boreham Hall.

"Upon coming to the head of the great pond at Terling, I observed a number of coots upon the water, and upon drawing nearer a wild duck rose, at which I fired twice. It then took a circle round us and upon coming over our heads again poor Mr. Fitzgerald shot it, and it fell as near to the centre of the pond as possible.

"The question then was how it was to be got out. One of my pointers swam to the bird, but returned without it. I then said my dog at Terling Place would most probably bring him out, and we agreed to wait till Mr. Taylor the gamekeeper returned with the dog.

"Captain Stuart and myself laid down under a tree at the corner of the pond head, nearest the gate leading to the lodge road. Mr. Fitzgerald was then at the centre of the head, and said he would go in. Captain Stuart said he would not go in for an hundred ducks. Poor Mr. Fitzgerald then undressed and swam until within two rods of the duck. He then turned back, and did seem to me frightened, but appeared to swim with ease till within three yards of the unfortunate spot where he sank, making some slight noise two or three times as he went down. Captain Stuart and myself then ran to the centre of the head of the pond, being the place he went in at and was swimming to again.

"My first impression was to go in as I was then dressed, but recollecting that my coat etc. would hinder me, I pulled off my coat and waistcoat, during which time Capt. Stuart had pulled his coat and waistcoat off and jumped in. He swam about a rod from the shore, when he found himself entangled in the weeds and returned. Poor Mr. Fitzgerald was then quite under water, and, at the instant Capt. Stuart was getting out of the water, Mr. Fitzgerald's head appeared for the last time and the only time after sinking under the water.

"I then ran as fast as possible to Terling Hall, and told the people to go instantly to the pond with ropes, as it appeared the only possible means or chance of saving him. I then rode to Terling Place, by which time several persons had hastened to the spot. Eight minutes had not elapsed between my leaving the pond and my reaching Terling Place.

" Poor Mr. Fitzgerald once or twice spoke of his power in swimming previous to his going in and used the words, ' I can swim upon an occasion.' "

(Signed) J. T. Tyrell.

Boreham House. Thursday evening.

8th Oct. 1818.

" Col. Strutt saw Mr. Tyrell in his shirt galloping one of Col. Strutt's cart-horses, and upon learning the cause, Col. Strutt, being on horseback, rode instantly to the pond. This was about three o'clock on the 8th Oct., 1818.

" Col. Strutt gave orders for the manner of search for the body, to open the sluice of the pond and to cut a trench through the head of it to let off the water quicker. At about five the body was found and soon taken out, and the medical man in attendance immediately commenced his operations to restore the inanimate body, but no symptoms of animation were apparent. Then the body in blankets was by men (for there were an hundred present the whole time) carried to Terling Hall, a field distant from the pond, where every convenience and necessary thing was prepared, and at about two hours, or near half-past seven o'clock, not the least doubtful symptom having ever appeared than to warrant the belief that poor Charles Fitzgerald was perfectly dead, irrecoverably so before he was out of the water, the operations were then given over.

" The pond is large and deep where poor Charles sank, and the water particularly cold."

(Signed) J. H. Strutt.

Terling Place.

Col. Strutt's health was good in general, but in later life he suffered from gout, and Lady Rayleigh, besides being very deaf, was often unwell, so that they used to go to Bath almost every year to drink the waters. It was there in 1836 that Lady Rayleigh died at the age of seventy-eight. Her body was brought back to Terling and buried in the family vault. Difficult and exacting as the Colonel must have been to live with, there is no evidence that she ever had a serious difference with him. That her married life had its trials is proved by the following passage from a letter written in 1803.

THE DUCHESS OF LEINSTER TO LADY LUCY FOLEY.

" I saw poor Charlotte yesterday, who is really ill poor soul, and very low. She enquired affectionately after you. She complained much of want of a little dissipation and amusement in the evenings; reading hurts her head, being read to puts her to sleep and sleeping gives her cold. I say'd that was sad, and that I wished she liked story books as much as I do, for they wou'd sometimes at least keep her awake. *Oh yes, that they would*, she replied, *but men thought it so idle and dissipated for women that had familys to read novels!* Is not that too good? And are you not amused with Strutt's superiority of sense and wisdom? "

After his wife's death, Col. Strutt was more often than ever at Bath. As will be seen later there were probably family reasons for this: at all events it was not due to any distaste for Terling, about which he wrote in 1813: " The beauty of Terling is pleasing; it is not bold or grand, but there is variety of ground, plenty of trees and water, and it is always cheerful to look upon."

Col. Strutt's death was hastened by a fire which broke out on the 13th of January, 1845, in his bedroom at 6, Edgar Buildings, in Bath, where he and Emily were living. He had occasion for a light at four o'clock in the morning. Being an invalid he always kept a small lamp burning beside his

bed, and lit the candle from this, using a paper spill, which he afterwards carefully blew out, holding it in his hand until every spark was extinguished. But, in thus blowing, it was supposed that some sparks fell with the ashes of the paper, for in a few minutes flames arose from the under valance and quickly spread to the bedclothes and drawn curtains of the fourposter. Col. Strutt, being eighty-seven years old, could not get out of bed without help, but shouted for and managed to arouse Emily, who rushed into the room and found the poor old man helpless, with his hands lifted, saying: "Oh God, Oh God! what shall I do?" She tore open the flaming curtains and got him out of bed and out of the room. She then went back and tried to smother the flames by pulling down the burning curtains and wrapping them up. She finally returned to her father, led him downstairs out into the street and deposited him in the next-door house. Meanwhile the fire had been got under control.

Col. Strutt's burns were comparatively slight, though serious enough to cause anxiety at his age. More dangerous were the effects of being taken barefoot into the street with nothing on but his nightshirt and dressing-gown in early January: naturally he suffered from shock. At first he seemed to be making a good recovery, but Olivia, who had immediately rushed down from Feering to Bath to nurse him and Emily, reported that her father was much aged by the experience. He died aged eighty-seven on Feb. 11th 1845, just four weeks after the outbreak of the fire, and his body was brought back to Terling to be buried in the family vault.

In 1895 old Nathan Thoroughgood told Evelyn Lady Rayleigh that he was the only survivor of the men who carried Col. Strutt to his grave. He said that the coffin was carried up the steep terrace steps, a difficult job which required practice. They practised accordingly with a board, resting the end on each step as they went up, while Mr. Ellis the agent, gave time with his stick. The result of this practice was that "the coffin went up beautiful."

Col. Strutt's daughter-in-law, Clara Lady Rayleigh, was emphatic about his kindness to her personally. She used to recall that he had piercing blue eyes that seemed to look you through and through. In later life he wore spectacles. In 1842 he wrote to Mrs. Drummond "As for me, I am growing fat in body but old in countenance. I was a coxcomb in my day, and I do not forget my countenance, and now I shrink from the glass." The picture of him painted in 1822, now at Terling Place, was not considered by his family to be a good likeness. He may have been slightly taller than his father, but was still a very small man.

Col. Strutt's letters, whether on matters of importance or trifles, would certainly not suggest to an outsider that he had been educated at Winchester and Oxford. Though his spelling and punctuation have been freely corrected here to make the sense easier to follow, enough has been quoted to show that his knowledge of grammar and composition was almost non-existent. In addition he wrote an abominable hand.¹ Nevertheless he was an untiring

¹ 1841 "Unfortunately I scribble, but you can read. My poor Father, when he was retired and I in parliament, used to throw down my letters in his difficulty in making them out, saying, 'How can Holden write in such haste.' He was a good Father and I ought not to have given him such trouble, but he liked me—Happy me!"

controversialist on paper, and what his letters lack in finesse and style they make up for in length, often obtained at the expense of wearisome repetition. He believed in importunity as a means to an end, and allied with his unbounded self-confidence this policy proved remarkably successful. It is true that he failed to obtain the command of the 54th Regiment for his brother, in spite of a long correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief and others, nor did he always have the last word in his arguments with his son, but these were exceptional cases and he usually contrived to get his own way. He was not a clever man ; inferior to his father in acuteness and judgment, he yet inherited many of his father's good qualities, notably reliability, a strict code of honour and a high sense of duty. He chose the family motto, *Tenax Propositi*, but as applied to himself his enemies would probably have translated it " pigheaded " rather than " firm of purpose." Under a pretence of humility his conceit was colossal, and he could never resist the temptation to posture and strike boasting attitudes. Perhaps after all, the worst that can fairly be said of him is that he had a most pompous and self-satisfied manner, and a poorly developed sense of humour.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN STRUTT'S younger son, William Goodday (1762-1848), had a distinguished military career and is noticed in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He was sent to school at Felsted, and in 1778, shortly after being appointed an Ensign in the 51st Regiment, he received the following letter from his father :

My dear Goodday, In your tender years your mother's anxious care nursed you to the Time it was thought right to send you to a school where it is to be hoped you have not spent your time so unprofitably, but that you have laid such a foundation in the dead Languages that by Application you are enabled to pursue them, and I recommend and entreat you to improve yourself, because a Reference to past Actions with a view to the present will furnish you with an Insight into human Nature by which you will judge of Men and Things with some degree of Prescision.

When your Mother and I thought it was proper for you to leave School and turn to some Profession that might give you the Opportunity to pass through Life with Comfort and Reputation we consulted your Inclinations. You wished the Army. It was then determined to send you to Mr. Lochee's Military Academy that you might learn the first Rudiments of the Profession, and that you might feel yourself and have time for Reflection and not be hurried into a situation in which most probably you was to spend your days. You *still* wished the Army. I then (seeing you fixed) after much Consideration and the best Information I was able to obtain from a little experience and from Communication with Gentlemen of that Line, procured you through the favor of Lord Barrington a Commission dated the 23 May 1778 as an Ensign in the 61st Regt. of Foot, commanded by Major General Morris now at Minorca.

Every necessary being through the care of your Mother abundantly prepar'd and having procured you strong Recommendations not only to the Governor but to Officers and others and being now to depart from England to rejoin your Regiment, I think it my duty, my dear Son, to offer you my Advice on your future conduct which is the more necessary because your age, being little more than sixteen, and inexperience requires a faithful Monitor.

In every Station, more especially at your Age, we are apt to wish a change and think that change will either produce us advantage or amusement.

But you must in every situation look for disappointment. It seldom answers the desired purpose and a steady and uniform pursuit of the first Plan laid down in Life, if not always, will generally afford the greatest happiness—but complete happiness you are not to expect.

The military Line of all others requires a due and strict obedience to the Command of your Superiors.

Without that implicit Obedience all must be confusion and the best concerted Plans by the ablest Generals must fail.

When your Opinion is expected you must give it openly and freely but with a proper diffidence.

Truth you must never deviate from—no, not in the smallest degree. It is more honorable, nay more safe, to confess an Error than to hide it by deceit.

Nice in the choice of your Companions—slow in that of a Friend because it is absolutely necessary you should be well acquainted with the Character and Disposition of the Person, that if it be not similar in all, or most, instances to your own you must not expect it durable— When you have fixed, no change of circumstances



GENERAL WILLIAM GOODDAY STRUTT, 1762-1848



Tofts

should make you neglect or forget him—for Friendship should be pursued with unremitting Ardor.

Be careful never to offend by light and trivial conversation.

Avoid all quarrels, but should you unfortunately be engaged in one, conduct yourself free from Passion, but with manly firmness—Be not hasty to promise, but be faithful to your word.

Ever be ready to assist the distressed to the utmost your circumstances will permit without an expectation of return for in that you may be often disappointed.

And to enable yourself to do this, you should observe great Economy—I do not mean Parsimony—for tho' it may not be necessary to *save* from your pay and Allowance, yet it is your Duty as an honest man to live within them—that you may pay and discharge all demands on you with regularity.

Be ever attentive to the Doctrines of the established Church which is perhaps as perfect as any human Institution can be. At least you will find in that the great character of a Christian and if you practice the rules there laid down you may reasonably hope for Peace and Happiness here and hereafter.

In the lesser duties you will find neatness in your Person and dress, and regularity in the disposition of your private affairs contribute to your Ease both of Body and Mind.

Be punctual to return Civilities. Perfect yourself in the French Language, and if you can get instructed in drawing you will find it of infinite use in your Profession.

Ever mind to write correct. I must repeat—use yourself on every instance to write with Precision. A year or two's close attention to this will perfect you.

You are sensible how anxious we always are to hear from you and what pleasure it gives us. Therefore, you cannot write too often and be assured we shall never neglect the Opportunity either by ourselves or your Brother's writing to you. We shall at your leisure hope to have a description of the Island Inhabitants and Government.

Having thus done everything in my Power to promote and advise you and assuring you that nothing in me will ever be wanting, it remains only for you to do your part. Therefore committing you to the kind Protection of all ruling Providence and wishing all Health Prosperity and Happiness to attend you, in all which your Mother and Brothers most fervently join me,

I am, my dear Son,

Your truly affectionate father,

John Strutt.

In 1780, after two years of Service,

“ Your time of life being such that you might without much loss or any reflection on your conduct have turned from the profession of Arms to a more peaceable and less dangerous situation, I have given you the Option of the Church in which I had good preferment for you at Chignal, Mashbury, etc.—but you having again and again declared that it was your fixed resolution to pursue your present line, and being shortly once more to leave us to join your Regiment (now the 91st in the West Indies) wherein I have purchased you a Captain's commission, it may be expected that on this change in your situation I should say something by way of further advice and instruction.

Read and instruct yourself. Write correct even if it be only a note. Now let me once more press you to keep a journal. Indeed, indeed you will find a present and future use in it, and once you have accustomed yourself to it for a month it will follow as a matter of course, even as your parade hours or dinner or breakfast, and what appears at the moment a trifling matter, may prove at a future day of consequence. I repeat and lament very seriously, of not keeping a diary: it would at this hour have been a great comfort to me to have been able to ascertain facts with accuracy which at the time I thought of no consequence, and now I see they were very material.

One word more and I have done, and that also may be unnecessary—Avoid as much as possible the bottle, your constitution will not bear it ; even a constant pint a day is too, too much. I don't mean by this that you are to avoid an occasional conviviality, but the steady pint will make you a cripple in your later days, and lead to etc. etc. etc."

On Oct. 24th, 1788, Goodday (the name he was called by in his family) wrote to his Father from the West Indies :

" I have had a very bad fever and an ague, but thank God I am now very well and had a most miraculous cure by sitting three days and nights in Wet Cloathes owing to a dreadful Hurricane which swept everything before it. Paint to yourself five hundred souls forced out of their Huts by the merciless winds and rain, which blew all their Habitations before them, and the major part of them left without any shelter. This Hurricane continued for 24 hours without any intermission. I had just time, being ill of a very bad Fever, to be carried out of my Hut at four o'clock in the morning upon a man's back in my shirt, breeches and stockings thro' all the rain to the Lt. Colonel's, which was the only House then standing. I was put down there in my wet Cloathes, and the Colonel was so inhuman as not to offer me dry Cloathes. I had not long been there before the rest of the Officers came for refuge from the boisterous wind and rain. There we sat the whole day, but at dinner time we expected to have been invited by the Colonel to partake with him—when, lo ! the stingy fellow asked not any of us, but adjourned into another room to glut his appetite. Upon finding how matters stood, we sent our servants to the ruins of the Huts to search for provisions. They returned to us bringing a Ham, some bread, cheese and a dozen of porter. We immediately ordered the Ham to be cut in slices and broiled. No sooner was it done than we fell to, more like dogs than Human beings, having had nothing to eat all that day. We staid there all that night and the next morning retired from the inhospitable house to pitch our Tents ; ill as I was I decamp'd with the rest, and now we are in Tents. This Hurricane happened on the night of the 11th and continued till the middle of the night of the 12th, when it ceased and left us the dreadful spectacle of its ruins, woods blown down, trees torn up by their roots, all our fortifications demolished ; the wind overturned a twelve pounder mounted. This is the first Hurricane I ever saw, and I hope it will be the last.

I believe I may very well say that our Regt. is of no use to Government, as the utmost we can turn out in case of an invasion will be about twenty and as many officers—we are eating the King's Provision and receiving his pay for doing little or nothing . . . I wish if it should fall in your way, an exchange in America or anywhere rather than stay in this Island."

In 1792, after returning a second time from the West Indies, he received from his father yet another letter of advice, containing the following passage :

" In these times shew a firm and determined adherence and attachment to the constitution, both in Church and state—and should unfortunately some in the Regiment show a different tendency, discountenance it with steadiness but with temper and politeness.

" If Ld. E. F. [Edward Fitzgerald] shou'd join you, but I shou'd suppose he never will, and shou'd introduce his politicks you will put them aside with good humour, but shew him that Soldiers are to support the Church, King and constitution, under which they happily live, and not to join in disuniting and pulling down either."

Strutt saw an exceptional amount of active service on the Continent and elsewhere. In 1787 there was a vacant majority in the 29th Regiment ; a cutting from the *Morning Herald* of Oct. 30th, 1792, relates how nearly it was given to him.

The secretary at war, Sir George Younge, went in the usual way with his commissions to receive the king's signature. Among these was the majority in the 29th regiment, vacant by poor Castleton's death. The king hung over that commission more attentively than the rest. He seemed to read it twice, and twice he muttered at the name of Strutt who was in the commission as the successor.

"Strutt? Strutt? Aye, I know: he is a very good officer. But who is the oldest captain in the 29th, in the same regiment?"

The king had no sooner asked the question who is the senior captain in the 29th than he (the king) answered: "Oh, Campbell! Campbell! an excellent officer—often recommended to me—often. Make out the commission for him."

But this little incident was only a temporary setback, for by 1795 he had risen to the rank of a Brigadier-General while serving with the 54th Regiment. In that year he was sent to the West Indies for the third time, and in the Island of St. Vincent received the wounds which ultimately brought his military career to an end. On the 8th January, 1796, he engaged more than 1,200 of the enemy with a force of only 180, and of these no less than 144 were either killed or wounded at the end of the action. General Strutt was himself wounded three times at about 4, 5 and 6 a.m. The following is taken from the contemporary medical report.

January 8th 1796. General Strutt, aet. 32, received three wounds, the first thro' the fore part of the upper jaw, the second a slug or buckshot in the lower part of the left breast, the third shattered the right *os femoris* from three inches above the knee to the knee joint.

The first wound was inflicted with a musket ball immediately below the left *ala* thro' the lip, knocked an incisor tooth, and was not to be traced further—the general supposed he either swallowed or spat out the ball.

The second wound seemed to have been inflicted with a slug or grapeshot, and appeared not to have penetrated the thorax but to have struck against the rib and fallen out from its reaction. The important consequences with which the third wound was likely to be attended took our attention from the two first.

The general was carried off the field on horseback to Forbes' Ridge, where a cradle was procured, in which he immediately proceeded to Kingstown, 21 miles from the scene of action, notwithstanding the fatigue of such a carriage from such a distance. After an hour and a half's rest (if it could be called such, for the splinters created intolerable pain), his leg was amputated at 11 p.m. three inches and a half above the knee joint.¹ The operation, from the immense size of the limb (from fat) was necessarily tedious, great care having been taken to preserve the integuments sufficient to cover the muscles and bone, and from the difficulty of compressing the artery and stopping the circulation in the member. But tho' the operation for the reasons mentioned was tedious, it was born with uncommon fortitude, and, scarcely any blood being lost during it, he was placed in bed at 12 p.m., his strength still tolerable and spirits good.

About twenty minutes after he was put to bed a burning sensation in the stump gave him almost intolerable pain. It was not partial to any point, but general over the whole wound. It continued with violence for two hours and a half, a little mitigated by fomenting the stump, and finally subdued towards morning, after having taken 150 drops of laudanum.

During the days following the amputation this medical diary records the General's ups and downs. Sometimes he had violent attacks of pain, and at one moment he was thought to be dying: at other times he was fairly

¹ General Strutt kept the musket ball as a grim souvenir of the occasion, and it is still at Terling Place in a box labelled by him "The ball that shattered my leg."

comfortable. His spirits, too, rose and fell. Sometimes, especially after severe bouts of pain, he would be plunged into gloom at thoughts of his altered future : at other times he would be fairly cheerful. By May he had recovered sufficiently to return to England, where he was very graciously received by George III who made him Deputy-Governor of Stirling Castle, a sinecure appointment. Next year his health was greatly improved, and he thought himself well enough to be employed in the army again, so he offered his services and they were accepted. In May 1797 he was appointed a Brigadier-General on the Staff in Ireland, and was stationed for some time at Limerick, and afterwards at Tarbert further down the Shannon, but he had to resign in 1798 because of ill health indirectly due to the amputation. In June 1798 he was raised to the rank of Major-General.

During the next two years General Strutt hoped, surprisingly enough judged by modern standards, to return to active service, and had set his heart on commanding his old Regiment, the 54th. In 1799 he had an interview with the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, who said he would submit General Strutt's name to the King for the Command of the 54th on the death of the Colonel of that Regiment. This promise was confirmed in writing shortly afterwards by the Duke's military secretary. In April 1800 the Duke backed out of his promise on the grounds that General Strutt's wounds made him unfit for active service, and offered him instead the Governorship of Quebec. General Strutt was at Terling when the letter arrived, but Col. Strutt was in London on Parliamentary business and took up the cudgels with zest on his brother's behalf. It was just such a situation as his controversial powers were suited for, and he wrote a series of letters in his best manner, quoting, repeating, rebutting. At first the Duke through his secretary contended that his words had been misconstrued, but he was unable to maintain this in face of the plain facts set out in writing, and fell back on the line of argument : " That whenever a general officer makes application for a regiment, H.R.H. answer invariably is that he will lay his pretensions before the King, but that in so doing H.R.H. never has, and never will consider himself as pledged for the success of the application made." In face of this broad hint General Strutt had little choice but to give way, and, though he never really forgave the Duke of York, he shortly afterwards accepted the offer of the Governorship of Quebec. This was another sinecure, and during his forty-eight years enjoyment of it he never once visited the town. His salary as Governor, together with allowances and military pension, amounted to £934 a year, and his income from other sources came to £704 a year.

General Strutt never married, but after his retirement lived at Terling until his father died in 1814. The latter left him some land, including the house and estate of Tofts for life, and £10,000 ; " Having already in my life expended very considerable sums of money for my son William Goodday Strutt in his education and advancement in his profession, I declare the devises herein contained in favour of my said son must be considered in full of his portion and fortune which I intend for him." General Strutt was disappointed with this will and wrote bitter letters to his elder brother about it. This attitude was unfair, for, whatever the shortcomings of the will, the

responsibility for them was clearly not Col. Strutt's; the latter met these querulous letters with soft answers, and indeed always appeared at his best in his dealings with his brother, of whom he was sincerely fond. He was far from ungenerous towards him, and after he succeeded to Terling Place he reserved a special room on the ground floor for him which he called his "freehold" and of which the General alone had the key. After this good relations were restored and lasted until death separated them. Thus in 1842 Col. Strutt, then aged eighty-four, writes from Bath to his brother at Tofts :

"As to myself, I am better but by no means stout enough to encounter a change of climate. But under all circumstances, whatever they may be, I am desirous in spirit and able in body to come to you, if occasion for your pains and sufferings I can be of service. Call on me my brother, and I will be by your bedside, for my spirit is revived in being able to assist those who have ever been kind to me."

Here is a letter written to the Prime Minister from Bognor in 1810, which may be of some interest.

GENL. STRUTT TO SPENCER PERCIVAL.

Sir,—Having been several years at this place during the time H.R.H. the Princess Charlotte of Wales¹ has resided here for the summer season, I have been forcibly struck with the idea of the practicability of an enterprising partisan (of which the french are not in want) undertaking to carry off the princess from the place, and, was the despotic ruler of the french acquainted with the unguarded situation of H.R.H., I have no doubt an attempt would be made.

H.R.H. has been some days here and no vessel of war is perceptibly stationed in the bay or off Bognor, the barrack a greater distance from the residence of H.R.H. than the residence of H.R.H. is from the seaside (which distance is less than half a mile) and no guard over H.R.H. A ship of war at Brighton is no security for this place, the distance being about twenty miles.

I conceive it to be my duty to put you in possession of the above.

There is no record as to whether this letter had any effect.

Genl. Strutt was evidently fond of the sea. The letter quoted above is evidence that he spent several summers at Bognor, but he was not content with simply taking rooms by the sea, and in 1824 he built himself a house at Southend which he called Rayleigh House (still standing, but now a restaurant for summer trippers known as the Rayleigh dining rooms). Southend was then a comparatively unspoilt village. Lord William Harvey, passing through in 1786, described it as "a bathing place; one machine; indifferent accommodation, and only bathing at about high water." A little later Henry Greville could write this poem about it :

Sweet unassuming little spot
By some unknown, by some forgot,
Circling the friends my heart approves,
And rich in her it fondly loves,
Why must the dull affairs of life
Drag me from thee to worldly strife?
Here at my ease from business free
My heart can grow as calm as thee,
And, like thy waves which gently roll
Unfettered by man's harsh control,

¹ Only child of the Prince Regent, and so in direct succession to the throne.

Glide on unconscious, as it goes
Unvexed by hope's incessant foes !
Then fare thee well Southend, farewell thy woody bank,
And long may'st thou remain unknown to luxury or rank.
Bloom bank for ever sweet to shade contentment's friend,
And long, Ah long, let reason seek and folly shun Southend.

Southend became fashionable as a Watering-place in 1804 when it was visited for three months in the summer by Queen Charlotte and Princess Caroline ; by 1848 it had grown so as to be described in a county guide-book as " one of the favourite retreats of the wealthy inhabitants of the metropolis."

General Strutt used to spend a good deal of his time there sailing a small yacht called the True Blue which he had had built. Some years after his death his Southend property was sold by auction, and fetched £5,320. In the particulars of sale dated 1865 it is described as " A very valuable property (possessing peculiar advantages for the establishment of a first-class hotel or lodging-house), situate at Southend in the parish of Prittlewell, facing the German Ocean to which it has a frontage of 196 feet. It comprises a substantial and roomy house, for many years the residence of the late Genl. Strutt, with large gardens, stabling and convenient outbuildings attached ; also five commodious houses with two shops known as ' Strutt's Parade,' and five cottages, the whole comprising a most compact block containing an area of about 28,000 square feet, together with the vendor's interest in the enclosed promenade between the above property and the sea." Genl. Strutt was one of the prime movers in the building of the Southend Pier, said to be the longest pier in the world, and the church of St. John the Baptist nearby (consecrated 1842) was mainly built through his influence and generosity ; an inscription shows that he presented its Communion plate, and he also gave the Communion Table made of yew grown at Terling.

Genl. Strutt built the square white brick block of Tofts. His name is commemorated at Little Baddow in the public house there called the General's Arms. In his later years he became completely bedridden and lived mostly at Tofts, surrounded by numerous dogs. His life there must have been very dull, though his nephew and nieces did what they could to relieve his solitude by frequent visits. His diaries during these years show that he was in constant pain and did not wish to live on. The stump of his leg had never properly healed, but gave him continuous itching and discomfort, and had to be dressed at short intervals. To add insult to injury he used to feel gout in the missing foot ! He notes in his diary of 1847, " This day sixty-five years ago was the most glorious defeat of the Spaniards and combined forces of their impregnable ships in their attack on the fortress of Gibraltar. I was a Captain in the 97th Regiment, one of the regiments stationed on the rock, of course one of the defenders. Few besides myself who survived that day are now living."

Genl. Strutt died at Tofts in 1848 at the age of eighty-six, and is buried in the family vault at Terling. There is a good miniature of him in uniform at St. Catherine's, and at Terling a water colour of him in his wheelchair, painted by a Witham artist in 1835. [Plate facing p.62.]

CHAPTER IX.

COL. STRUTT had two sons. The younger, William Henry, died in 1805 from scarlet fever when only five years old.

The elder son, John James (1796-1873), was born in Harley Street. He was probably a sickly infant, judging from the fact that he was privately baptized in London before being baptized and registered at Terling. He was named after his grandfathers, and his godparents were John Strutt, M.P., the Duke of Richmond and Lady Louisa Connolly.

FROM THE DUCHESS OF LEINSTER'S JOURNAL

(1800) Charlotte's children have had the Cowpox, but in perfect health with it; if, as is expected, this will secure them from catching the Small Pox it is very delightful, but time only can ascertain this and until it does I confess I should not like to run any risks of catching it upon this presumption, tho' many of the best physicians are strongly persuaded that it will not fail.

(1805) Charlotte is come to town looking tolerably well; Emily improved, but the children pale and coddled as usual—think of her never bathing them all the time they were at the seaside.

(1808) Dear John and Charlotte [Olivia] looked so pale and sodden yesterday that I shall be quite glad when they leave that odious Seymour Street.

John James, as we will call him to avoid confusion with the many other John Strutts in the family, went to Winchester in 1809. Col. Strutt on this occasion wrote Lady Charlotte the following letter, which might almost have been written by a father to-day.

6 o'clock Sat. morn.

My dearest C.

I saw John off in the stage for Winton this morning at 5.

When he arrived yesterday I made him lie down on the sofa whilst I sallied forth to business . . . and then returned to John, and we dined at Henry, each choosing his own dinner. I asked John to call for what he liked etc. The inclosed is our bill. We then went to the play at which John seemed much amused. We got home to bed at eleven.

I desired John when he was packing his trunk not to take anything he did not want, and unfortunately he rejected these books I wish he had always with him—I did not observe the books—*Beauties Spectator*, *Shakspear*, *Blair's classics*, *History of England*, *Friend in the Heavens*.

I think Button at Winchester would be of great service to John. His spirits are too great for his strength. If he were to ride quietly and for a short time daily that would be of service to him, but I hope he will remain well.

Ever affectionately,

J. H. S.

John James went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1814, and took his B.A. Degree in 1818, apparently a better one than his family expected.

EMILY ANNE STRUTT TO HER BROTHER JOHN JAMES STRUTT.

Words cannot express, my dear John, the joy your letter of this morning gave. It had such an effect you would have thought some dreadful misfortune had happened; we were all in tears. And I had the satisfaction of hearing Papa saying to me that all things at Winchester were passed and that you were now making up for everything. Oh, what words they were, my dearest John. How happy they made me. I am so nervous I do not know what I say.

Col. Strutt was even encouraged to hope that his son might be elected to a fellowship at All Souls. When this failed to materialize he proceeded with a previous plan, that of sending him to France in the hope, perhaps, that he might follow the Colonel's own example and find a suitable wife there. Accordingly to Paris John James went in January, 1819, and during his stay there saw a good deal of the family of his uncle, Lord Robert Fitzgerald, who was a secretary at the British Embassy. He had a flirtation with one of the daughters, Geraldine, and asked his father's permission to propose to her, but history repeated itself and Miss Fitzgerald shared the fate of Miss Horlock in the previous generation. John James felt that he had let his cousin down, and writing many years later (1833) he refers to her as "My cousin, to whom I owe so much for her continual affection and friendship for me when I behaved *apparently* unkind (though justified in my own mind because I was obeying my father's commands)." If his father objected to this intimacy between first cousins, how much more would he have objected (had he known of it) to another a few years later with Lucy, daughter of the notorious Lord Edward Fitzgerald. There exists a short but intense correspondence between them during part of 1824 and 1825, and her letters strongly suggest that she would have accepted him had he proposed, but his own attitude is not so clear. Possibly she realized that the Colonel would be an insuperable obstacle to their marriage: at all events, the correspondence ends very suddenly with her announcement of her engagement to a certain Captain Lyon, which obviously came as a great surprise to John James. Perhaps out of sentiment he became godfather to her daughter Lucy and, when in 1832 she became an orphan by Captain Lyon's death, he was left her guardian. It was while staying at Terling in 1849 that Lucy Lyon met the Rev. Mr. Ovens, a neighbouring clergyman, whom she married.

In these early days John James was fond of society. He was often to be seen at Almacks, the fashionable assembly rooms of the day, and one of his sons remembered his saying that it was a proud moment when "Beau" Brummell asked him to take a glass of wine with him. In the country his chief interest was hunting. He kept a hunting diary in some detail and the entries show that it was rare for him to miss a day. In 1821 he went to stay at Carton for about two months, and his visit coincided with one which George IV paid to Dublin, shortly after his accession to the throne. His letters home are interesting as showing that the King had a great personal success there with all classes. Queen Caroline, who had not lived with the King since the first year of their marriage and whom he notoriously hated, died on August 7th, and the news of her death was received by the King on board ship before he reached Dublin. A passage from John James' letter

of the 15th August, relates the King's rather surprising reactions to the Queen's death.

"Lord Graves came here to-day. He told us that the King, although the sea was rough, was not sick till he heard of the Queen's death, which news had had that effect on him for a short time. He never saw the King in such exulting spirits as when he first saw the Irish coast. He desired three cheers, and at the recommendation of Lord Londonderry the King got half tipsey."

In 1813 John James had joined the East Essex Militia as an Ensign, and having been promoted Lieutenant and then Captain, he was at Colchester in 1821 at the time Col. Strutt learned that Lady Charlotte was to be made a Peeress. John James received an urgent message from his father telling him to come up to London at once, and Col. Strutt at the same time used his influence with the Commanding Officer at Colchester to obtain temporary leave of absence for Captain Strutt. In due course he was promoted to be a Major, but in 1832 his career in the Militia ended (as Col. Strutt has told in his autobiography) by his resignation at his father's suggestion upon the Lord Lieutenant appointing an officer junior to him to command the Regiment.

It is now necessary to consider an important and unhappy factor in the life of the family. There was almost continuous friction between Col. Strutt and his son, as is evidenced by the many quarrels recorded in letters and diaries. Apart from this, the surprise shown by the son at any mark of affection from the father bears witness to the normal state of relations between them. Thus in 1824 the Colonel writes :

I have had, and have to contend in argument with a disposition eager, hasty, embracing right and wrong, commendable and uncommendable, with a degree of haste and pertinacity which exceeded a considerate discretion, propriety, mercy, duty, guided by an obstinacy in no ways admitting sober reason ; unhappily a temper exemplified in your infancy by the lamenting but natural saying of your nurse, "I know not what to do with Master Strutt with his wills and his won'ts."

You have found me an affectionate parent, stern in my reproofs, perhaps not so kind as you may have wished, but I studied your disposition and I found for a long time that apparent severity was necessary, and even by these means I did not secure myself from such treatment that I should have been oppressed if I had treated my Father . . . I have found your mind to be inconsiderately hasty, and I pray that that haste may not mislead you, but that you may have a sound understanding given to you, and that before you act in all things material [you may] consult and hear your earthly Father.

On which John James comments (not for his father's eyes) :

I was very wicked in various ways, especially between the age of 10 to 15, and certainly caused my father much anxiety and affliction—not but such was increased much by his supposing me guilty of great immorality when I was innocent, and, having unfortunately told him falsehoods previously, he would not believe my assertions of innocence. The consequence was great coolness, and I, believing myself injured and unjustly neglected and despised, did, I believe, treat him with occasional disrespect. My Father has never shewn any *personal*, though he has family affection in great degree for me. I mean that I cannot recollect that he ever gave me his hand to shake, certainly not for the last 15 years.¹ This I could not bear, and it soured my disposition, naturally hasty and obstinate, till I found a Father in Heaven . . . "

¹ John James Strutt's diary, 15 June, 1825. "I met my Father at Maldon, who gave me his little finger to shake!"

One of the earliest and most unnecessary disagreements took place in 1816 on the occasion of the death of John Strutt, and in this case at least no impartial person can be in any doubt as to which side was in the right. The circumstances were as follows : John James was at Oxford, and first heard the news of his grandfather's death from his mother who was in London. Having kept his term, he did not wait for his father's instructions, but immediately got leave from the Dean of his College to leave Oxford, and went straight to Terling to attend the funeral. Col. Strutt, though he had in fact written to his son telling him to come to Terling for the funeral, was very vexed because the latter had not waited for these instructions before leaving Oxford. Here are a few excerpts from each side.

COL. J. H. STRUTT TO J. J. STRUTT, ESQ.

14 March 1816 . . . I do not desire you to quit Oxford. You have no right to assume to yourself a discretion. You are fixed at Oxford as a schoolboy . . . I repeat this step of coming to Terling upon the news of my poor Father's death was inconsiderate . . . Could you not conceive that if you came without my sending for you you arraigned my conduct . . . Here I have taken a view of the subject without observing upon the great distance you have unhappily for both of us placed between us from previous conduct and especially from your mischievous contradictory assertions and appearing out of your bedroom naked, during your last vacation, at a time of life which makes such conduct quite lamentable . . .

J. J. STRUTT, ESQ. TO COL. J. H. STRUTT.

24 March, 1816. . . . I have stated the motives which influenced me more to palliate than to defend my conduct which, as I had no right to quit Oxford without your express commands I acknowledge to have been wrong, and only hope that by this statement you will not attribute it to any wilful misconduct or intended disrespect to you . . . I hoped, but hoped unfortunately in vain, that the late irreparable loss that we have sustained might have compressed that distance between us which I have so constantly and so much cause to feel . . . It is a cutting feeling, a sensation I cannot describe, that no one with whom I have been concerned, no one I believe in the whole world, has such a bad opinion of me as he whose good opinion it is my duty and earnest desire to obtain, and unhappy and most miserable am I . . .

A violent controversy took place in 1824 and 1825, and, though it lasted little more than a year, ran to about one hundred thousand words. All communication on the subject of the dispute was by letter, though for a great part of the time father and son were living under the same roof.

It appears that in 1822 John James had asked his father to submit his name for the hand of Lady Jemima Cornwallis, daughter of the 2nd Marquis Cornwallis, in the formal way usual at that time. Col. Strutt had made enquiries which had led him to believe that her dowry would not be enough, with the allowance he proposed to give him, to enable his son to marry her. Two years passed : her father died, and it then appeared that the Colonel had been mistaken and that she was heiress to a considerable fortune after all. He lost no time in writing to acquaint his son with the new state of affairs, and offered to put his name forward again, but this proposal met with a flat refusal, John James replying that his views had undergone a complete change in the interval, and that he could not now entertain the idea.

In the letters which followed the Colonel used every conceivable argument to try and persuade his son to reconsider his decision, but the latter explained that his newly acquired religion prevented his marrying someone whom he knew to be wordly (in the sense that she went about in society), and whom he believed to be unregenerate.

Religion became the field for dispute, and in the course of interminable letters each went so far as to imply that he believed the other to be damned in his then state. Anyone reading the letters now would find it hard to say exactly what the argument was about; the quarrel went on long after Lady Jemima was engaged to someone else, and the subject of the dispute had therefore become futile. Some of the arguments advanced, especially by the Colonel, are comic in their triviality. Thus he adduced as evidence of his son's want of real religion his disrespect in banging the door, and in leaving the room without saying good night to his mother, even though John James protested that both lapses were unintentional. In another passage he solemnly assured his son that he did not even buy or sell a horse "but omnipotence is in my thoughts."

A real crisis was reached towards the end of 1825, when the father forbade the son to speak to his mother, sisters or the servants on religious topics. This the son conceived to be incompatible with his professed views and he wrote :

"What is your desire about my remaining here, T. P. . . . I wish to know, upon this my refusal to make such an engagement, whether it is your desire that I should quit Terling. I do not wish to quit without fully understanding that that is the only alternative."

We have not got the Colonel's answer, but certain entries in John James' diary speak for themselves, and show that the Colonel had to climb down when words gave place to deeds and his bluff was called.

- Nov. 14. I received a letter from my Father which rendered it imperative on me to think of quitting my home for the Redeemer's sake.
15. I wrote to my Father stating the necessity laid on me to go! At 11 o'clock by God's supporting Grace I was enabled to set off without any prospect of ever returning unless the Lord touched my Father's heart with a live coal from the Altar!
- 20 Received a letter from my Father asking me to return and yielding his interpretation! Thus the Lord opened a way for me to return home within a week from the time of my departure.

The Colonel had another great and much more understandable disappointment in his son next year. In May, 1825, he had written proposing that the latter should stand for Maldon in his place at the next election. The son declined this offer on the ground of their religious differences which, he said, would mean conflicting views on various parliamentary questions. The Colonel replied that he was quite aware of the line his son would take in the House of Commons, and that it would differ in some respects from his own, but that he thought, nevertheless, that it would be most for their mutual happiness that he should stand, and so it was agreed between them. On Sept. 19th, 1825, John James had circularised the freemen of Maldon,

stating that his father intended to retire from the representation of the borough, and that he offered himself for election in his place.

"Should it be your pleasure, Gentlemen, to send me to Parliament as one of your representatives, I shall, in cases wherein confidence is required and matter for forming private judgment does not appear, give the Government of the Country my support, always reserving unto myself, in cases of a different description, a right to form my own individual opinion, and liberty to vote as my conscience may dictate.

"In respect to that important discussion, Roman Catholic Emancipation, whilst I would grant to every subject in these Kingdoms the utmost liberty of conscience, I shall consider it my duty to oppose every measure which in my judgment may hazard the loss of the blessings we enjoy in a Protestant Church, a Protestant King, a Protestant Government, and a Protestant Parliament. But in thus wishing to exclude Papists from Power, I am by no means indifferent to their situation, and should, therefore, by supporting such measures as would tend to the prosperity of Ireland, by encouraging the means of Education, and more especially the general diffusion of the Holy Scriptures, endeavour to redeem our fellow subjects from the dark superstitions and unscriptural errors of Popery.

"I shall be a friend to the continuance of Peace, and shall esteem it my privilege to aid every lawful attempt for the accomplishment of the total Abolition of the Slave Trade,¹ and for the spread of the blessings of civilization and scriptural knowledge throughout the world."

All appeared to be going smoothly, and he and his father both believed that he would be returned at the next election by a comfortable majority to make the third generation of the family representing Maldon in Parliament, when, for some obscure reason, he asked his father for permission to withdraw his candidature: this was given on Feb. 23rd, 1826. We can only guess how great must have been the exasperation and chagrin of his father, who had already signified his intention of retiring from the representation of Maldon, and who was thus forced to sit for a strange constituency during his last years in Parliament without the compensation of seeing his son representing the family borough.

COL. STRUTT TO THE HON. MRS. DRUMMOND.

(1841) I ordered you an extra Essex Standard. If you cast your eye where my name in respect to Maldon is, you will see that the inference to be drawn is that I retired from the representation of Maldon fearing the numerous constituency. The fact of my retiring was that, being offered a seat for Oakhampton, I was desirous John should be in Parliament during the time I might be, and I pressed him to stand, and in three days he obtained in the extreme part of the county great success—but before the election I yielded to his entreaties not to be a candidate.

The following passage from a letter to Mrs. Probyn written on Sept. 14th, 1836, a few days after his mother's death, shews that he anticipated that his succession to the Peerage would increase his difficulties with his father.

"My chief *present* difficulty, one I always contemplated in the event of my mother's decease before my Father, is my behaviour in my new situation. If I do not assume what my rank confers, I fear he will think I do not estimate what *he* procured for me. If I do, I fear the natural jealousy of a son's superiority in any way to his Father."

¹ John James Strutt's diary, Aug. 16th 1824: "I left off the use of West Indian sugar in consequence of having read a pamphlet entitled *Immediate, and not gradual, abolition of the Slave Trade.*"

The forebodings here expressed were justified by events, for, according to family tradition, the Colonel used to refer to him ironically as 'my noble son.'

In 1837 relations were not much improved and, as a result of a quarrel over a trivial matter, Col. Strutt forbade his son to talk to Ellis, the agent, on farming matters, and maintained this injunction in spite of the latter's plaintive comment that it left him with practically nothing to do. The next year Lord Rayleigh, as he had now become, informed his father that he found he could not live within his allowance of £450 a year, and had been forced to borrow money from his sisters. Col. Strutt replied absolutely refusing to increase his allowance, but intimated that his marriage would put the matter in a different light. We may guess that it was this question of marriage which was behind many of their differences. It boiled down to this: Lord Rayleigh was now middle aged, and, if he persisted in not marrying, the Strutt family would die out.¹ As Col. Strutt had spent the best part of his life in obtaining honour and advantages for his descendants, this possibility was distasteful to contemplate, and he was fast approaching a state of mind in which he would not be over critical of any lady likely to present him with a grandson.

But though the marriage question was almost certainly one cause of bad relations between them, the trouble went much deeper. There was a fundamental antagonism in their natures. The Colonel was very sensitive to slights, real or imagined, and never budged from any position he had taken up, while his son managed to combine conciliatory language with an obstinate determination to have the last word. As neither of them had any use for compromise, their disagreements almost always ended in a deadlock, unsatisfactory to both.

After Lady Rayleigh's death in 1836, the Colonel had spent more and more of his time at Bath. He was at Terling in January, 1841, for Olivia's wedding, but left on May 2nd and was never there again until his death in 1845. In a letter written in 1842 it is implied that he kept away to avoid being near his son, whatever reasons of health he might give out to the world. Happily there seems to have been a reconciliation shortly before his death. Owing to alarming reports about the Colonel's health, Lord and Lady Rayleigh and their baby son went down to Bath from March 4th—16th 1843, and the parents again for June 30th and July 1st. Olivia Drummond writes to her sister on July 5th:

"Poor dear John, he cried to-day at dear Papa, shaking hands with him both on arriving and departing. O, my dear Emily, what bitter sorrow we are all spared, had dear Papa quitted this world without seeing him."

To go back to an earlier date: in 1822 (aged 26), at a time when Regency was giving way to Victorian England, a great change took place in John James' life; he became convinced that Christianity was the most important thing in the world, and thenceforth religion of an evangelical type was the mainspring of his life. Indeed at one time he came very near to what is commonly called religious mania. A certain Mrs. Fortescue, the wife of a

¹ Except for the descendants of Joseph Strutt, the antiquary, who were very distant cousins.

neighbouring clergyman, brought about his conversion, of which one of the outward signs was his abandonment in turn of hunting, card-playing, dancing, etc. Rightly or wrongly, he believed that these amusements were not in keeping with a truly spiritual life, and, though some will be found to criticize his views, there is no reason whatsoever to doubt his sincerity in them, even if he sometimes fell short of his own standards. He took a leading part in founding an Auxiliary Church Missionary Association in Essex. Other interests of the same kind included the Maldon, Witham and Kelvedon Bible Societies, over all of which he presided. He was associated with the Irvingite movement (the "Catholic Apostolic Church") in its beginnings, and stayed at Albury, then the home of Edward Drummond, who was Irving's chief disciple. But in 1831 or 1832 he began to have doubts about some features of the worship of Irving's Church, and was eventually led to dissociate himself from the movement because of the emphasis which Irving and his disciples laid on spirit possession and speaking with tongues.¹

In November, 1826, John James became very friendly with the Reverend Edmund Probyn and his wife, who were living in the neighbouring village of Fairsted. Mrs. Probyn was particularly sympathetic, sharing his views on religion and other things, and when the Probyns moved to Longhope Vicarage, in Gloucestershire, in the latter part of 1827, the intimacy was kept up by frequent visits, sometimes stretching into months at a time, and by a voluminous correspondence. In these letters it is rather surprising to find them addressing each other as Mary and Pauly, and he unburdens himself to her, chiefly on religious subjects, with a corresponding degree of intimacy. Further evidence of his attachment to her is given by a will made in October, 1827, in which he left her everything he possessed. Mr. Probyn seems, not unnaturally, to have been jealous and suspicious of all this familiarity, and, as all the letters written to Mrs. Probyn are addressed to her husband, the inference is that he insisted on reading them first.

During the years preceding his marriage John James lived a good deal alone at Terling in the frequent absence of his family at London and Bath, and on tours. He took a great and abiding interest in the welfare of the local labourers, and in the finances of the parish generally. The first part of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of conditions of great hardship and distress among agricultural labourers, especially in the South of England. One important cause of this was the decay of the old village industries brought about by the Industrial Revolution, and another was the enclosures of George the 3rd's reign, which often pressed hardly on the poorer classes by depriving them of valuable grazing rights. In these circumstances a movement grew up to help the labourers by letting to them small holdings, on which by intensive cultivation they could grow enough vegetables for home consumption to be of considerable help to the family budget. John James was one of the pioneers in this movement, and as early as 1832 was letting his father's land in allotments to the labourers. The following passages from his letters of this period show how his ideas on the subject developed, and indicate some of the difficulties with which he had to contend.

¹ The meetings of Irving's friends had much in common with a mediumistic séance.

HON. J. J. STRUTT TO MRS. PROBYN.

DEC. 6TH, 1831. Being overseer of the poor and surveyor, I have all the parish in a degree on my hands, and I have it in contemplation to upset throughout the whole system and payment of labourers which has lasted twenty years or more . . . It will be a remarkable thing if, having so lately in my own mind given up house and lands, the Lord should now give me in my Father's lifetime the opportunity of ruling the affairs of the poor, which I have thought much about in the event of outliving him. The change I propose will be as great, and I hope better to the *Parish*, as the Reform Bill would be to the nation—a complete overturning and new building—and my Father says he has no objection.

DEC. 7TH. I was occupied all morning on parish concerns, but, not having sovereign power nor able to shew an immediate diminution in expence, I fear the moral good and prospective advantage in my plan will hardly induce compliance.

DEC. 9TH. I am thinking of printing an address to labourers on saving their money to hire small quantities of land that they may be independent in some degree of the Parish. I fear I have not *power* at present to overturn the present system, as I cannot shew, without depriving old widows of their tea and snuff etc., an *immediate* reduction of expence; so I must wait. In the meantime if I could prepare the way with the unmarried labourers to save money they would be ready to take land when they could get it. My calculation is this: that the clear gain to a labourer is £6 10/- per annum: at 10/- per week wages there are 13 weeks in the course of a year provided for without working for farmers or requiring Parish aid: therefore 4 men, having 1 acre each, would be virtually decreasing the population 1 man—8, 2 men—16, 4 men. Thus they would be in request with the farmers, be able to reject work if offered them too low, and if they had work besides *all* the year their £6 10/- would be added to their saving bank fund, and they would be able to hire 2 acres the following year, *and so on*.

DEC. 24TH. My father has talked much with Mr. Goodday who has agreed next Monday, "*against his conscience*" he says, to propose me as Hon. member of the select vestry, for I cannot regularly be appointed till Easter.

DEC. 26TH. I am now in office, elected this day a select vestryman. My resolutions were carried:

1. To relieve the aged and impotent, and to set to work the unemployed.
2. To avoid all payments for or towards cottagers' rents or clothing or allowances under any claim of want of work or number of children.
3. To afford relief to a labourer with a large family by feeding, clothing and employing some of his children by day in the workhouse or field.
4. To give fair wages and make no distinction between married and single, but only on account of their character for honesty and fidelity, and their ability and skill in the separate branches of husbandry.
5. That the Hon. J. J. S. be *empowered* to take measures for carrying the aforesaid resolutions into effect, and that at a general meeting he do lay before the vestry the steps he has taken and the plan he proposes to be adopted for the sanction or amendment or rejection of the select vestry.

To which he *graciously condescended* to agree, and Mr. Arthur Goodday to attend to the carrying on of the plan when Mr. S. is absent. Thus I have lots on my hand. Will you tell me how your rice is dressed when the children and Rhoda dine on Fridays, as I want the cheapest way of feeding in the workhouse. I expect to be dreadfully unpopular, but, as I hope to encourage the deserving, they will appreciate my conduct I doubt not in the end.

DEC. 30TH. Yesterday from 11 to 4 I was at the workhouse, having appointed all the poor to meet me, and there I took down the family, number in family, denomination, whose cottage they lived in, what rent they paid, who employed them, their earnings, the names and ages of their children, what schools they sent them to, etc. I expect about 49 children will come to breakfast on Monday at 8, and in addition to the dinner. I mean to allow the aged tea and sugar and salt butter.

I have now an opportunity of turning the opportunity I have had of learning house-keeping and the purchase of articles *with you* to good account. I intend being at the workhouse at 8 to see the children fed. Tomorrow's bill of fare is : gruel and bread breakfast, rice pudding and treacle dinner, potatoes and bread supper.

DEC. 31ST. They all seemed pleased and had plenty to eat. The old people are to dine in mess, and I gave them out for tea and breakfast 1 oz. of tea, $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. of sugar and $\frac{1}{4}$ -lb. of butter, to which we add bread, and two widows are to be indulged with $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz. of snuff a week.

JAN. 10TH, 1832. I was at the vestry from 4 till 8, Mr. Goodday yielding the chair to me. The plan of feeding the children met with such opposition from the parents that I have altered the plan, which is to be, if adopted (and we are to have an extra meeting on Monday to consider my plan), this :—

TERLING.

At a special meeting of the select vestry holden on Monday, January 16th, 1832, it was resolved unanimously :

- 1st That every encouragement be afforded those parishioners who are bringing up their families without expense to the parish.
- 2ndly That all parishioners who are assisted by the flour allowance be informed that upon being known to tittle, to neglect their work, otherwise injure their families, or keep a dog without permission of the overseer, they will forfeit this privilege and be transferred with their families to workhouse discipline, food and clothing, and to work on the parish account whenever the overseer may think fit.
- 3rdly That no parishioner who shall, after the 1st day of February 1832, become chargeable to the parish, shall have his wages MADE UP in ANY WAY from the rates, which is contrary to law and destructive to habits of industry, except in case of occasional sickness or for some cause not likely again to occur ; but if the labourer's family become too large to be supported by his free labor, and he make a demand on the parish for assistance, he shall, as long as that assistance is required by him, work on its account alone.
- 4thly That whenever a parishioner falls on the parish for work or allowance and continues thereon a second week, he be clothed in a parish dress and fed and lodged at the parish charge, and that no money, except in particular cases, be granted him.
- 5thly That we the owners and occupiers of land in this parish will do our utmost to improve the Religious, moral and temporal state of the poor by endeavouring to make them attend the worship of God ; by punishing for theft, drunkenness and idleness ; and by giving fair and adequate wages, not confined to any maximum but according to the value of the work done and the responsible and confidential situations in which the workmen are placed.

The vestry having adopted the preceding resolutions, the Honourable Mr. Strutt engages, God willing, to give every labouring man who brings up all his children to the age of fourteen without parish relief, except in case of sickness, a reward according to the following scale :—

FOR 3 CHILDREN	£5
FOR 4 CHILDREN	£7.
FOR 5 CHILDREN	£10.
FOR 6 CHILDREN	£15.
FOR 7 CHILDREN	£20.

Resolved—That the preceding resolutions and scale of rewards be printed, and that every family in the parish be supplied with a copy of them.

By this plan I hope to make the labourer try to shift for himself, and the farmer won't like to lose a good labourer and will give higher wages, and there will be room for charity to flow to help those who help themselves. I have a great quantity of work for I am keeping an account of all the different families, circumstances, etc.

JAN. 12TH. My Father is rather afraid of my extensive plan of *reform* in his parish, but has consented to my resolutions which I bring forward on Monday.

JAN. 16TH. This morning my special vestry meeting took place, and my resolutions were passed *nem. con.* It was a very pleasant meeting; cordial co-operation was promised; in short it was just what I wished. They are now printing for circulation among the parishioners, and the system will then begin throughout the parish. My Father says it was my golden pill of rewards that made them swallow the rest.

FEB. 6TH. Went to the vestry at 4 till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. All were agreeable and but few applications, only from the really sick. Not one person out of work, not even for the parish fields. Arthur Goodday accompanied me home to tea, and we set my Mother and sisters to work to form a Ladies' Lying [In] Fund; for themselves, and the ladies of the parish to be honorary subscribers, and for the poor who do *not* come [for help] to the parish to be beneficial subscribers. Thus if they subscribe half a crown they will have 10/- or £1 for their confinement besides the bag and cradle (?) which is always given from this house, or by Ellis when we are away.

I have within this month by a little activity prevented 2 girls from being settled on us. One is owned by Witham, and the other is decided to belong to Hatfield, so that I ought to become popular with the farmers.

FEB. 11TH. I am land ditching my *farm*, and my team is at work carting stones, which consists of a donkey *in foal*, a blue and red cart as big as 4 wheelbarrows, and the carter and his whip weigh about 4 stone! My Lilliputian farming amuses and does not displease my Father; my donkey cost £2, my cart quite new 2 guineas: my farm consists of an acre and a half. But I intend to keep my team for the accommodation of my numerous tenants, when my Father gives me *no less than* 5 acres to let out in allotments.

FEB. 19TH. Old Jenkins tells a capital story of 2 old women in his parish being overheard discussing the superior merit of Reform or Cholera. At last they were both agreed—Cholera for their part for they had got nothing by reform, and one had got blankets and the other 5 yards of flannel by cholera. It would be excellent to get some clever fellow to write to the newspapers to propose political unions in favour of cholera for the advantage it is of to the people.

MARCH 26TH. Vestry meeting. The *excess* of expenditure upon the 3 first quarters of the last year compared with the corresponding quarters of the preceding year amounted to £81, but on the last quarter (mine) there was a *saving* over the corresponding quarter of the preceding year of £61. So you see I bring all the experience I have learnt in trying to economise for you to bear successfully. Tho' the economy is my secondary consideration, the moral improvement of the people being my first object, yet it is a very [illegible] of the Lord to have prospered the financial part, as the farmers, who did not like my innovations or my meddling at all, were so pleased that they signed a paper that in order to give me information and to support me they would attend the Vestry every fortnight as the clock struck 6, or forfeit 6d.—their own idea and proposal.

APRIL 5TH. It is very funny but I find the theoretic reformers are not practical reformers, and at this moment I believe I have been the greatest reformer in the county. Since Christmas I have saved the county £50 per annum in gaoler's expenses at Ilford, and have got the county newspapers to publish all our county notices for nothing, by which means I do not receive the *éclat* of the theoretic, and do get the odium of reduction as a practical reformer, and, though much tempted to be irritated at the selfishness of people, I am content.

APRIL 14TH. I am much more interested in Terling than I have ever been.

OCT. 2ND. Some of my tenants have set to work in their fields. I have 12 acres portioned out from 8 rods to 1 acre.

OCT. 4TH. I have all my tenants tonight at 7 to sign their conditions of lease and to know their rent. Many have taken possession before they knew what they were to pay—fine confidence ; much more has been shewn me than I expected.

OCT. 8TH. I have been to meet whoever would come in consequence of my proclamations. There were 22 present. I harangued them on capital, labour, manure etc., and was *only* interrupted by marks of approbation. I then took them one by one, and had requests from 160 rods to 10 rods each. They are to meet me again this day fortnight, when I hope to have the allotments ready. There ought to have been double the number, but it is quite enough for the experiment, as out of the 22 there are some of all kinds—single men, Fathers of 6 children, Church, dissent, idle and industrious. They all thanked me on going, and it was quite pleasant—so I trust a beginning is made, and I will not despise the day of small things.

Here are the conditions and other details, as set out in the printed agreement which the would-be tenant had to sign :—

FIELD GARDENS.

The object is to afford profitable employment for the half-days, spare hours, and unemployed time of the Working Classes, by furnishing them with Portions of Land, upon which they may employ their surplus labor, which is the poor man's capital ; thus encouraging the industrious, affording HOPE and a fair prospect of bettering their condition to those who are willing to help themselves.

CONDITIONS.

- 1st. That the allotments be cultivated by spade husbandry, and no horses used, without leave, but for the purposes of carrying on manure and taking off the crops.
- 2nd. That no allotment be underlet.
- 3rd. That Potatoes be not planted without manuring, and that not more than one half be planted with them.
- 4th. That no Occupier, his Wife, or Children, trespass upon another's Allotment.
- 5th. That no Livestock, without leave, be allowed on the Allotments.
- 6th. That every Occupier preserve a good character for honesty, sobriety, and industry, attend a place of Worship at least once every Lord's Day, and send his Children to a Sunday School, unless unavoidably prevented.
- 7th. That the rent be due Sept. 29th, and be paid before the Potatoes be taken up, in default of which they will be seized for payment.
- 8th. That any Occupier failing in any of the above Conditions, without permission granted him in writing, shall forfeit his Allotment as soon as his crop be gathered in, without any allowance for manure or other improvements.
- 9th. That those Occupiers who manure most and cultivate best their Allotments be entitled to an increased quantity of land when opportunity offers.

N.B. It is by manuring, spade cultivation, and constant attention, that Field Gardens produce better crops than land cultivated by Farmers. Mr. Strutt will be always ready to confer with the Occupiers respecting the most profitable manner of cultivation, to render them his advice and to attend to their suggestions. It is his sincere desire to be their Friend and to raise them above their present distressed position.

OCT. 10TH, 1832. I am very busy taking up potatoes both on my own farm and in the parish fields. I am receiving fresh applications for land, three applicants today. The farmers and gentry are quite surprised at so many, but the people are beginning to have confidence in me that I mean their *good*. Loker in my farm, on my suggesting that it might not be safe to leave the potatoes out all night, said, " I don't think they would [steal them], not yours—they are afraid of you." Now

if I have succeeded in getting the honest and industrious to confide in me, and the idle and thieves to fear me, I have attained much more speedily than I expected one of my greatest objects.

Nov. 7TH, 1832. On Monday evening at 7 I agreed finally with 44 tenants—many more than I expected the first year—all content and not one murmured at the rent, which with tithes and taxes amounts to about 50/- an acre, which I think a great deal. Now it remains to be seen whether they will pay. I have refused none, however good however bad, willing to give *all* a chance, and I must weed out every year the bad ones if they do not improve.

Nov. 26TH, 1832. I long to have a village shop to sell everything at prime cost for ready money and allow no credit.

JAN. 5TH, 1833. My Father has let me have the management of 30 cottages, the rents of which if paid amount to £66. I am to pay him £45 and to lay out whatever I get beyond that sum on repairs.

At the cost of a little repetition it is thought worth while to give the substance of a charge delivered to the jury by John James as Chairman of the Quarter Sessions in November or December, 1832. It summarises his attitude towards a few of the social problems which interested him.

. . . there is an increase (in crime since the harvest) which we can account for in some degree by the harvest time having given greater wages, more employment and less occupation for idleness, which is the root of all evil ; and I hope that from the abundant harvest with which God has been pleased to bless us there will, this winter, be more employ for the poor ; for it is by employment only we can hope to diminish the number of offenders.

To cause an improvement in the condition of the poor an Act of Parliament was lately passed establishing a rate for labour only. It provides that if an occupier of land works out his quota in labour he shall not have to pay anything to the rate. This I consider to be merely an endeavour to effect an improvement without being effectual. It is compulsory, and nothing of that sort can last long : it may be a consolation to people for a short time, but we cannot expect that a whole community can prosper where they are compelled to employ more men than they want.

But there is a system which I think much better, and which is beginning to work far and wide, though not so much in Essex as in some counties. I allude to the system of allotment, or apportioning to poor men a small portion of land according to what they may be supposed able to manage. The capital of the poor man consists in his surplus labour, which, if he is in constant employ, is not much, though it may be something in the spring. But he has many half-days owing to wet, and in the winter many little opportunities—especially if he is single—when, if he had a small plot of land, he might cultivate it advantageously to himself in a pecuniary point of view, and also to his moral improvement. This system has been carried on under the auspices of Lord Braybrooke at Saffron Walden with complete success. To show that the employment of the people causes a decrease of crime it is only necessary to observe that in one report from Saffron Walden, in proof of the peacefulness of the neighbourhood, it is stated that up to midsummer there had been five consecutive sessions without a single prisoner being brought to trial.

There can be no doubt that pauperism increases crime, and the evil is increased by early marriages. There is also a good practice gone out of fashion—that of yeomen and farmers taking single men into their own houses. There was a time when respectable single men had a comfortable home at the farmer's fireside, but now, owing to the system being changed, the poor man is obliged to go to the public-house or to marry that he may have something of a home. From the demolition of cottages, the inclosure of many commons and the system that generally prevails of not taking in single men, our labouring population who were once the pride and boast of the country, are very much deteriorating in character.

The increase of crime increases your county rates . . . so here is a great addition to the county rates from the labouring classes not being sufficiently employed, and wages not being adequate to the support of themselves and families ; and this of course increases the parish rates. Owing to men being in want of employ they must do something, and if they have no honest work in the day they will employ themselves dishonestly at night ; they take to poaching and from that go on to sheep stealing and greater crimes, and we in the end have them to try and to keep at great expense, to which each parish must contribute.

By a late Act of Parliament a power was vested in parish officers to hire 50 acres of land for the employment of the poor ; and if two or three acres so hired were allotted to a man with a large family, it might prevent the weekly payment to him of 4s. or 5s. allowance. I know that a flour allowance is paid in some parishes, and it is a good system, because the wife and children get thereby that which is of real value to them, and it is not consumed by the male in an idle way. This, if given on account of the number of children when corn is high (and I know it to be the case in one parish) amounts frequently to four or five shillings a week, or about £13 per annum given away to one family. Now if in such cases the man had the opportunity of hiring two or three acres of land at a fair rate, I think that the £13 would be brought down to £3. It has been truly said by Sir Thomas Barnard that

“ The labourer who has property, however small—a cow, a pig or even the crop of his garden, has an interest in the welfare and tranquillity of the country, and the good order of society. He who has no property is always ready for novelty and experiment ; the gibbet and halter may for a time deter him from criminal and atrocious acts ; yet no *motive* exists to fix him in virtuous habits, or to attach him to that national prosperity in which he has no part, and to that constituted order of property which excludes him from all possession.”

In those parishes where the allotment system was in operation, it was remarked that during the riots of last winter none of the labourers joined in the disturbances, though those of neighbouring parishes did. So you see that the great object to be held out to the poor is hope. We are all excited, in our several callings, to perseverance and exertion by the hope of bettering our condition, and if the poor man had held out to him the prospect of obtaining land, he would hope to raise *his* condition. Now when you recommend to the single labourer, who earns 10s. a week, to put some of it in a Savings Bank, or to lay it by in some other profitable way, he replies “ What is the use of my doing so ? I should only be saving it for the parish, for they must keep me when I am married.” But if he had land there would be hope to induce him to save his earnings.

I repeat that the great object is to induce the feeling of hope among the lower orders ; without it they are improvident and reckless of consequences, and if they get enough to feed them today they think not of tomorrow. The legislature will take the subject into consideration, but I think that voluntary efforts will be better ; if owners and occupiers of land will put their shoulders to the wheel they may materially improve the state of the lower orders, to the great reduction of the rates, and the improvement of the physical and moral condition of society. It is a true saying that prevention is better than cure.

I have thought it a matter of conscience to tell you these things, for I have during the past twelvemonth read a great deal upon the subject. I doubt not that I have expressed myself imperfectly, for I was not aware that I should be here to address you . . .

Another venture of a purely philanthropic nature with which he was concerned was the Witham Savings Bank, founded in 1817 to accept deposits repayable at a week or fortnight's notice according to size. The amounts deposited had to be not less than one shilling, and might not exceed one hundred pounds in the first year and fifty pounds in subsequent years ; the money was

all invested in British Funds, and the Bank was able to allow interest (at first, anyhow) at the rate of four per cent. after paying its overhead expenses : this must have been a real encouragement to small savings. Deposits were not transferable, and, as this ruled out payment by cheque, the institution was not a bank in the modern sense. The original trustees (in whose names the investments stood) included Col. Strutt, and John James was one of the managers. The idea was evidently one near to the latter's heart for he attended meetings at frequent intervals for upwards of fifty years, and his diaries show that on at least one occasion he did not scorn to turn clerk and post the ledgers himself.

During the thirties his time was divided between his religious interests and County business. He frequently served on the Grand Jury and was foreman as often as not. He attended Quarter Sessions at Chelmsford with the utmost regularity and took his turn to be Chairman. He was a visitor of the gaol there and used to spend many hours with the condemned prisoners giving them spiritual encouragement. He played his part in local government as Overseer of the Parish of Terling for very many years, during which he kept all the parish accounts. He was also elected Chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Witham Union every year from its inception in 1834 until 1864 or 1865, and rarely missed a meeting ; for instance in April 1851 he recorded that he had not missed a single meeting in the past twelve months, which, considering that they were held weekly, showed considerable zeal. That this was appreciated is shown by the inscription on a fine silver tray :

“ Presented to the Right Honourable John James Lord Rayleigh by the Guardians of the Witham Union in token of the high esteem they entertain for him for his conduct as Chairman of the Board since the formation of the Union and to evince their gratitude for the urbanity, kindness and judgment displayed by him on all occasions. 1842.”

In 1837, shortly after his succession to the peerage, the Duke of Wellington wrote in his own hand impressing on him the importance of attending the House of Lords regularly. He was introduced into the House by the Duke's brother, Lord Cowley. For a time he seems to have attended debates pretty often, and served on several committees, but after his marriage his visits to London became less and less frequent, and he would only go up for a debate on some subject of special interest, usually of a religious nature. For instance, the question of the admission of Jews to Parliament was one on which he felt strongly (as had been the question of admitting Roman Catholics some twenty years earlier).

LORD RAYLEIGH TO LORD DERBY.

“ My opposition to the admission of the Jews to the privileges of legislation has been founded on the Religious conviction that all lawful power proceeds from the Lord Jesus Christ and should be exercised in His name and for His Glory. I cannot therefore vote otherwise than I have always done against the admission of Jews to either House of Parliament. I am perfectly conscious of the difficulties of the question and of your Lordship's position and very much regret I cannot follow your Lordship's advice on this subject.”

Incidentally this was a question on which he differed with his wife. Again in 1859 he voted in a majority of ten against marriage with a deceased wife's sister.

CHAPTER X.

MR. PROBYN had become insane in 1835, and had died two years later. In August 1840 Mrs. Probyn died and with her death an epoch in John James' life closed. He was left sole guardian of her five children with the consequent responsibility of finding a home for them as well as for his young ward Lucy Lyon. In 1841 he took a house for them at Shenfield in Essex, for the greater part of the summer holidays. Here it was that he met Mrs. Vicars and her eldest child Clara (1825-1900).

The Vicars family had been landowners in the Queen's County of Ireland from the beginning of the seventeenth century, until in 1812 the family place, Levalley, had to be sold owing to the extravagance of the head of the family. Captain Richard Vicars, R.E., who but for this would have succeeded to the property, died in early manhood in 1839, leaving his widow and five children very badly off; as Clara herself put it in an account of her girlhood: "My Father was cut out of the property which might have been his, and his poor daughter had only her face for her fortune!" In order to be near her old friend Clarissa Trant, who had married the Reverend John Bramston, vicar of Great Baddow, Mrs. Vicars moved from Ireland to Essex, and was living very quietly at Shenfield when she met John James.

He was forty-five years old, Mrs. Vicars thirty-eight and Clara only sixteen, so the neighbours had some excuse for thinking he was courting the mother and not the daughter. Clara was extremely pretty.

(Oct. 1st 1841.) "If I was first attracted towards you as a lovely and pleasing object to look at, if I took an interest in you because you listened to my counsel, and despised not my reproof, the attraction the interest and the love have gone on daily increasing."

Captain Vicars had held strong evangelical views, and his family were brought up strictly in accordance with them. The similarity in their religious outlooks proved a strong bond between John James and Clara, and she encouraged him to give her instruction. At this time he wrote:

"In worldly matters I am well versed; more than 25 years I lived in the world and of the world; my situation in life compels me to live much in it now, and therefore I am better qualified perhaps than more spiritual and more devoted Xtians to give information and advice in worldly matters. In spiritual matters also (however little I have profited), my experience and knowledge are greater than many. I am intimate with High Church and Low Church, with Evangelicals and Millenians (?), and even with many who have I fear, in some things departed from the faith. Mr. Irving and many of his followers I knew intimately. I am therefore acquainted with their strong and their weak points. I know where they can assault the young believer, and how their doctrines get admission into the enquiring mind and [illegible] conscience, and having passed through many trials of this description I have learnt, I hope, to reject many things without condemning all that are held and put forward, and to receive many things without considering infallible those from whom I have learnt them."



CLARA ELIZABETH LATOUCHE VICARS,
2ND LADY RAYLEIGH, 1825-1900



JOHN JAMES STRUTT, 2ND LORD RAYLEIGH,
1796-1873



In this way the acquaintance quickly ripened, and some time in September, 1841, they were practically engaged. The situation, however, had its difficulties, both because of the disparity in their ages and because the Colonel might not approve of the match. We know that John James was well aware of these difficulties.

(Oct. 16th 1841.) "Now to *business* : I am considered a good man of business ! but where my business is with you I deserve little credit. Well then, my own darling, I have been thinking that *if* Julia [Probyn] should question you to find out what you suppose my feelings are towards you and yours towards me, what would be best to be done ? I only darling *suggest*, for you to act on or not as seems to my *Donna* best ! for tho' entre nous perhaps a suggestion *might* be more attended to than a command (as her Ladyship is sometimes rather queer if she be not, as Edmund would say, driven with a light hand !) yet I only suggest because I have *rather* a good opinion of her own good sense, and would therefore prefer her being at liberty to act as occasion should demand. Don't tell her all this though. Where was I ? Oh, I remember. Julia approaches the front of the stage meditating, and suddenly turning on Clara says, 'Lord R. seems very fond of you. Do you love him ?', but I must be serious. If Julia asks you any questions dearest, I should recommend you to answer fully and confidentially, for we must look forward, and I should be sorry if hereafter she could accuse you of insincerity etc. It is also absolutely necessary that she should not imagine that you are *setting your cap* at me. If therefore you *must* speak on the subject to her, say at once 'Why, dear Julia, in confidence I will tell *you* that Lord R. has told me that if he thought his father would approve, and that he was not taking an unfair advantage of my youth and ignorance of the world, he *would* propose to me, and therefore I conclude he will when I am a little older, and I feel and act towards him under that expectation, tho' there is no actual engagement between us,' and you might also add 'He told me to tell you this if you should ask any questions.'"

(Oct. 17th 1841.) "Your letter, dearest Clara, reached me this morning. I should like to read that letter of mine over quietly with you. As for your feelings being wounded, dearest, I am very sorry and vexed with myself for having done so, and I must sincerely beg your pardon, but I cannot conceive how your pride could be offended, for if I recollect right I began by *allowing* that I was *in love with* you, and finished by humbly supplicating to be permitted to love you until you loved someone better. I said then certainly I was not fool enough to think of or to expect you would marry me ; therefore the caution was needless. I really thought you did perceive what I was quite conscious of, and that out of kindness not to disappoint me you cautioned me. I was angry, not at your having discovered my love, but at your supposed fear lest I should annoy you by pressing it to your inconvenience, and consequently the necessity to caution."

These lovers' quarrels were only passing ripples : frayed nerves were only to be expected from a man of forty-five, at last deeply in love, and yet as financially dependent on an undependable father as would have been a youth in his teens. No doubt it was this uncertainty about his father's attitude which had prevented him from asking her to marry him, with the result that (as is hinted in the letters quoted above) it was *she* who brought matters to a head. On November 10th, she writes in a chaffing mood :

"After much consideration I will be generous and frank enough to admit that I have never, and most assuredly do not, regret having *proposed for you* ! ! "

For once in his life the Colonel proved amenable, and John James was able to announce his formal engagement to his sister Emily, who was living at Bath, in the following letter :

Dec. 2. 1841. T.P.

My dear Emily,

I write to inform you that I am engaged to be married to Miss Vicars, daughter of Mrs. John Bramston's friend.

Papa left it to me, after making his observations, saying if I proposed he could only (under the circumstances) allow me £700 per annum. I consider myself under great obligation that he did not put his veto upon it altogether.

She does not wish to marry immediately. She is very young, not 18, pretty, cheerful, clever and good, but has not any fortune *at all*.

I found her intimate with Julia [Probyn] last summer vacation at Shenfield, during which time I saw much of her. Our intimacy commenced more as father and child. She has no father and for some time she considered and called me father, and she was elected with the Probyns and Lucy into my little family.

I know you, dearest Emily, will rejoice in my happiness and that my desolate condition is now brightened by the prospect of companionship with one I can love.

I am, dearest Emily,

Your affectionate.

R.

Ten days later he enlarged further on the subject of his fiancée as follows :

"I have no objection to your communicating our intended marriage ; I only hope people will not write to me. I intended telling Lucy in a day or two in my next letter. She saw much of her when with me at Shenfield. Mrs. Vicars went to Shenfield when John Bramston left Great Baddow, and Clara spent much of her time with Lucy in the holidays.

I don't know when it will take place. *She* does not wish it till August, but Papa in his last letter hoped it might be before Lent. Papa is kindly going to allow me £1,400 per annum. Clara has *nothing*. All Essex is talking of it, I believe, and when Olivia met *us* at Bramston's she knew nothing, and did not guess anything from our manners. I did not tell her till the day I wrote to you . . .

"She was only 17 on the 9th of last October. She has never been at school, but has been more of a companion than a child to her mother. She sings and plays—is quick, very lively and, I think, pretty in face, with a good figure, neither tall nor short, very good natured but rather proud and independent by natural disposition, but gracious and pious. Thus I have given you, I think, a *fair* description of her . . .

"I have never been so short of money. The Peerage and housekeeping on the same allowance as 10 years ago has squeezed me much."

They were married on February 3rd, 1842, at St. George's, Hanover Square, by Mr. Bramston. The Colonel remained at Bath, and as he was in delicate health Emily did not like to leave him : Olivia and Mr. Drummond were the only near relations of the bridegroom present, and, at Colonel Strutt's request, gave the wedding breakfast. The bride and bridegroom went straight away to Langford Grove, near Maldon, which they rented and made their home for the next three years. The reason for its selection was that Colonel Strutt, though himself permanently residing at Bath, had laid it down that they must not live within eight miles of Terling. Why he did this is not clear, but it was a very characteristic action on his part. Langford Grove was chosen by Lord Rayleigh as being large enough to house his wards and his own family ; another advantage was that it was in a small parish, making correspondingly reduced demands on his charity, which in those dark days of appallingly low agricultural wages was evidently an important consideration. The house was just within the eight mile limit, but the Colonel stretched a point, and they were allowed to rent it. They paid £300 a year for the house, gardens and about thirty acres of land.

HON. MRS. DRUMMOND TO HON. E. A. STRUTT.

Jan. 8 1842. Why Uncle Goodday likes Clara so much is what Miss Porter calls "her winning manner"; she goes up to him, stands over him, says something kind and calls him Uncle Goodday, and like an Irish person has a lively answer ready, but with it she is very plaintive and very gentle; then she looks so sunny.

She is a sort of child of nature without guile or fear. So far from Hugger Mugger, she is *rather fine*, and astonishes me who was nursed in poverty to find a poor widow's daughter more like one who had lived in grandeur all her life and nursed in luxury. Now in using the word *fine* I do not mean that she is in the least bit of a fine lady—quite the contrary; in that sense so perfectly satisfied and free from affectation, and the wonder of the neighbourhood that her head is not turned. When Miss Vicars, she was as she might have been had she been *Lady Clara*, and now as Lady Rayleigh is just as simple, unassuming and kind as she might be as Miss Vicars. It seems the Vicars family have always been *grand* in their notions and ideas, and in fact so beyond their means, and the place and property in Ireland consequently sold. Mrs. Vicars was, I understand, the most beautiful person possible, but never, I should think, had that look which *certain people* call of elegance that Clara has.

Her sufferings do continue very long in respect to sickness. Poor thing! this does seem a sad year for confinements; I trust she will do well—it would be grievous to lose her now. She is a dear thing! Mr. Drummond is very fond of her. I would by all means sign myself sister to her since you have the feel that she has remarked it. But *I am sure* that she has never felt hurt at the omission; she has not that about her to feel it as an omission; that is one of her natural ways. She would never think you did not mean to call her sister—it would not cross her mind—and that is an instance of what I mean, that she might have been *Lady Clara*. She has not knowledge enough of *the World* to know that there is a great difference between Lady Rayleigh and Miss Vicars, and I do not think she has any idea of being a greater personage as Lady Rayleigh from "the beautiful, accomplished Miss Vicars," so that she would never feel hurt at your not signing sister. This is what I call a child of nature, untaught in all the world's ways and thoughts, and makes her appear in her simple character of kindness, goodness and amiability.

They lived quietly at Langford Grove for the next four years, he attending to County business and less regularly going up for debates in the House of Lords, she getting to know the neighbours in the intervals of childbearing. On November 12th, 1842, their first child, afterwards to become world famous as a scientist, was born.

LORD RAYLEIGH TO HON. E. A. STRUTT.

My own dear and precious Emily,

Take out your pocket handkerchief dearest, for you will weep for joy. Clara is safely delivered of a son! Both are quite well.

I went to Witham for the property tax yesterday morning, Clara feeling not very well, but we agreed it was not necessary to have Tomkin. At 4 o'clock she sent to me. Tomkin was not at home, but he arrived about 6 o'clock and stated he thought it would end in confinement. I therefore sent the gig to Colchester for the nurse. The labour went on very regularly and favourably, but painfully, and at 8 o'clock she went to bed and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock 12 November the mother asked whether it was a boy or a girl? Mr. Tomkin said a boy; she replied "Hurrah." She had first on being eased of her burden "Praised God," but there was something so singular from the cry of agony and pain so shortly followed by "Hurrah." The child is fair and plump and full grown.

God bless you my dear, dear Emily for all your mingled feelings towards me and mine. I have written to Papa.

Your affectionate brother R.

She has longed for a boy, thinking it would please Papa.

For these two the early years of married life passed quietly and happily away in a Victorian England, which was not so uninterruptedly prosperous and contented as people nowadays are apt to assume. Take for instance this passage from a letter written to Emily in 1844 :

" We are all at our wits end on account of the fires. At the great fire at Rayne the labourers were saying ' This is the man who says 7/6 a week is enough for a man and wife and two children.' I consider the better wages in this neighbourhood have hitherto preserved us : there are no wages under 9/-, and the generality 10/- in the Witham Union ; but at the Notleys they are only 8/- and so are many other parishes in the Braintree Union. I hear the Terling boys, when they see a fire in the horizon, cry out and caper and think it fine sport ! "

In February, 1845, Col. Strutt died and on May 2nd, Lord and Lady Rayleigh moved into Terling Place which had not been lived in for five years. To the accompaniment of ringing bells and booming cannon, they received an enthusiastic welcome from the villagers, who had perhaps discovered the disadvantages of absentee landlordship in the *interregnum*. Lord Rayleigh's life from now on until his death was comparatively uneventful. He lived in the style of an ordinary mid-Victorian Squire, the benevolent despot of his parish, taking an unflagging interest in farming and local affairs.

FROM EVELYN LADY RAYLEIGH'S DIARY, 1898 :

I went to see Mrs. Walford (widow of the late Lord Rayleigh's coachman) to-day, and she got talking of old times. She said Lord R. used to encourage the villagers to come to him in their difficulties, and she half acted the scene, a woman knocking at the door and coming in with her curtsy :

Lord R. What do you want ?

Woman. Please mylord, my son (or my daughter) is going out to service.

Lord R. Well ?

Woman. Please mylord, I thought maybe you would help us.

Lord R. Well, how do you want me to help you ?

Woman. If you would lend 10/- to get him some clothes.

Lord R. Very well, but you must be sure to pay it back.

Mrs. Walford added that if the money was punctually repaid, some of it was usually given to the borrower.

Mrs. Walford used to keep a small village shop, and Lord Rayleigh told her to let him know when any were too poor to get necessary clothes, and never to let any woman be without flannel petticoat and chemise. Lord R. used to talk a great deal to Walford who told him many things about the villagers, amongst others how a boy belonging to a large family with a poor inefficient father had made his mother promise that when the Christmas beef and bread were given away here that he should be allowed to go on eating of the bread till he was really satisfied. Lord R. returned to the subject one day and said, " I have been thinking of that poor Charles May wanting enough bread to satisfy his hunger, when no doubt there is a lot of bread wasted in this house. I am going to let him have a loaf of his very own to do just what he likes with every week." And so he did till the end of his life.

FROM AN OBITUARY NOTICE IN AN ESSEX NEWSPAPER :

" As a landowner the noble Lord took a deep interest in the progress of agriculture, and to his efforts, associated with others, is to be attributed much of the improvement which has taken place in Essex. He was a warm supporter of the old Essex Agricultural Society, at whose shows at Chelmsford he was a frequent exhibitor, as well as an attendant at its district ploughing matches ; and he shewed **his** interest in the labourers by offering, we believe in connection with the Witham

Society, of which he was President, a prize for plans of model cottages—a circumstance which attracted more general attention to the subject, and led to improvement in the dwellings of the poor in that and other districts . . . Terling had greatly improved since he had become Lord of the surrounding Manors. The houses in the village over which he had control have been improved or rebuilt; the farms and farmhouses have assumed a different appearance, so that the deceased in closing his long and useful life had the satisfaction of knowing that he left the estate and neighbourhood better than he found them."

He was to a great extent his own estate agent and used to work with his confidential clerk Tom Isted in the room to the east of the front door. The farming and estate work took up a great deal of his time and he did not often go away from Terling. Lady Rayleigh might go abroad or pay a round of visits with one of her sons, but her husband would remain at home for the harvest and at Michaelmas for the rents—(1857) "I do not want the expense and trouble of going to Ireland: much less do I wish to be made sick with 2 days in crossing and recrossing the Channel." On the other hand Terling Place, was a great centre of entertainment; the house was usually full of young people and there was plenty of practical joking and fun.

Very frequent visitors were Clara's many Vicars' relations to whom the house was like a home in the holidays. Her younger brother Hedley Vicars, who was killed in the Crimean War, became famous through Miss Marsh's biography of him which sold in enormous numbers and was translated into several languages. Miss Marsh herself was an old friend of the family, and in the book she describes her first meeting with Hedley at Terling. Lord Rayleigh's generosity to his "in-laws" extended to advancing to Hedley the £1,100 needed to buy his commission in the 97th Regiment, and though this was nominally a loan bearing no interest it was written off as a gift after Hedley's death.

HOUSEHOLD INSTRUCTIONS (ABOUT 1850)

The maids in kitchen to breakfast at 8 o'clock; to drink tea when it suits them, say 4 o'clock—a *fixed* hour. To sup at half-past 8 or 9.

The men in servants hall to breakfast at 9; to sup at half-past 8.

All the servants to dine in hall at 1 o'clock.

No livery servant ever to be allowed to enter the housekeeper's room or the kitchen etc., not even to pass through. All things to be given to them through the hatch, where the tea things morning and evening will be placed for them. Hot water comes from the servants hall; toast made by maids in the kitchen, and served through the hatch. After breakfast the things brought back by the men and taken charge of by cook, who will empty the tea leaves and return the silver teapot to men to clean.

The dining-room breakfast to be 5 minutes before 9. The drawing-room tea generally half-past 8. The dinner generally at 6. Prayers at half-past 9 morning and evening.

The cook, kitchen maid and scullery maid all sleep near the kitchen; the housemaids in the attic; the menservants' beds and room to be made and cleaned between maid's breakfast and prayers.

The maids will have half-a-pint of ale at dinner and supper. In the outer larder there will be placed by the cook such meat as should be eat first, with bread, etc., that the kitchen maid may at any time be able to take the hatch refreshment when it is ordered for anyone calling at the house at extra hours for meals. Boiled beef every Friday for dinner: the water in which it is boiled is given away with the addition of all the odds and ends of the week on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock.

No visitors to the servants, nor anyone on business to Lord and Lady Rayleigh, to be invited or allowed to go beyond the waiting-room without permission, except Mr. Ellis.

The maidservants allowed flat milk and half a pound of butter a week.

Important changes to the place in his time included the redecoration of the saloon, library and drawing room in 1850, which caused the whole family to remove for eight months to Tofts, then rented by Emily. In April of the next year she gave her brother £150 towards the cost of the conservatory, which he built to connect the main block of the house with the west wing. At about this time he removed the kitchen garden from the church terrace, where it had stood since the days of the Bishops of Norwich, and made the present kitchen garden. He made a new drive to Witham running across Greenacres from the Hatfield road to Fardings. A little later the formal Italian garden in front of the house was laid out according to a design said to have been drawn by his cousin Lord Gerald Fitzgerald. In 1861 another cousin, the Duke of Leinster, gave Lord Rayleigh an organ which he no longer wanted at Carton, and this was put in the saloon at Terling where Lady Rayleigh learned to play on it. Her daughter-in-law enlarged it, re-cased it and moved it to the library, where it remained until sold in 1922.

In 1853 Lord Rayleigh built the village school. In 1868 Terling was struck by a terrible epidemic of typhoid fever, which killed about fifty of the villagers and two servants at Terling Place. A full account of the medical aspects of the fever is given in an appendix. Lord Rayleigh sent his family to Tofts to save them from the risk of infection, but he himself remained at Terling to do what he could for the people. Afterwards he installed a village water supply system by which spring water was pumped up from the Dairy Bridge, using as a source of power the fall of water which had previously served the corn mill there.

The year 1851 saw Terling Church enlarged by the addition of the north aisle, and at the same time a new chancel arch was put in and the Church was repewed. The intention to carry out some such alterations as a thank-offering for the material successes in his life had been in Colonel Strutt's mind for a good many years before he died. He had sounded the vicar, the Reverend William Goodday, about it in 1826 and Mr. Goodday had replied : " I shall be most happy, if you wish it, to give you my humble opinion as to what *I* should consider would make the Church look elegant and beautiful ; of course my plan would be very different to anything like yours." This " of course " might cause us surprise if we had not got a correspondence between the two stretching over a score of years in which they were constantly at loggerheads. Indeed, although they were first cousins, their antipathy for each other was so great that in 1823 Col. Strutt had tried to persuade Mr. Goodday to agree to exchange from the Terling living to Little Baddow, and as an inducement had offered him the equivalent of £1,400 to go, but the idea had fallen through, apparently because neither would trust the other to fulfil his side of the bargain. There is plenty of evidence that Mr. Goodday was an unusually hot-tempered man, and on one occasion he so far forgot his cloth as to challenge the Colonel to a duel, which the latter very properly declined.

In 1840 the proposal to enlarge the Church came up again. Col. Strutt caused plans to be drawn out for the approval of the Bishop, and when they were passed he obtained a written promise from Mr. Goodday not to interfere with their execution. The work was put in hand, but had not got further than the erection of a new vestry, when Col. Strutt found out that in spite of his promise Mr. Goodday had been in correspondence with the Bishop about the alterations. He immediately wrote to Mr. Goodday that in view of what had happened he was giving orders to stop the work,, because he could not be sure that the latter would not again break his promise when the work might be so far advanced that it would be impossible to draw back. Col. Strutt decided that nothing more should be done in Mr. Goodday's lifetime, and, realizing that he was hardly likely to outlive him, he provided in his will for a sum of £2,000 to be spent within five years of his death in making the alterations he had planned. Mr. Goodday died in 1848, and the alterations were finished in 1851 at a total cost of £2,060.

The vicarage in the eighteenth century and perhaps before that was the small house standing by itself on Owls Hill nearly opposite what is now the "Rayleigh Arms" public house. But the Reverend Charles Phillips, who was John Strutt's contemporary at Felsted and had been instituted to the Terling living by him in 1761, had chosen to live in a house on the village green, presumably on the grounds that the vicarage was too small and insignificant a dwelling to house such an important person as the vicar of Terling. When Mr. Goodday succeeded to the living in 1801 he too preferred not to live in the vicarage, but rented New House, until 1826. By then, however, he was on such bad terms with Col. Strutt that they could not continue in the relationship of tenant and landlord, so Mr. Goodday bought the field adjoining New House and built on it what is now Terling Vicarage, but was then his own private house. After Mr. Goodday's death in 1848 Lord Rayleigh bought this house and field from his executors, and shortly afterwards exchanged it with the Ecclesiastical authorities for the old vicarage, an exchange which was very favourable to the Church.

Here are some passages from letters written during Lord Rayleigh's later years :

LORD RAYLEIGH TO HON. E. A. STRUTT.

1843. I confess I did not fear the Canada corn bill myself, and therefore did not vote against it, nor did I fear the tariff and did not vote against that. The mischief was the lowering the duty of importation on foreign grain and flour by the alteration of the Corn Laws, and there I voted against ministers.

1844. I fear now, owing to Mr. Goodday's not visiting the poor, and the character and disposition of modern dissent, that a great change may take place. But for Mr. Goodday many would *now* come to Church, and owing to him many *have* gone to meeting . . . Cousins I believe would have come to Church, but Mr. Goodday rapped out at little J. H. S.' baptism on people coming to Church from "curiosity" and Cousins thought it was intended for him.

LORD RAYLEIGH TO LADY RAYLEIGH.

1857. I must be back at T.P. on the 25th September. I have a purchase to make, 2 or 3 farms changing tenants, besides my usual Michaelmas day work of allotments and doctors (?) clubs. This alteration of Edward's plans will, I fear,

slip your British Association travelling ! I am sorry if John loses Lord Rosse's telescope and if he could have gone then. If John passes 2 winters at Torquay, he will then be of an age we could send where there are 3 or 4 only, and these young men—and I hope the climate would not be so necessary, but I am convinced at present he wants the emulation and discipline of a school.

1858. I came down with J. Tufnell. He asked me a good deal about farming as he has just begun. I find my farming affairs not very prosperous. Mr. Hamilton at Woodham cannot pay, wheat and barley selling very low, some of my bullocks with the influenza, and the balance of my account I am in debt to Ellis £93, and very little money at Sparrow's ; the farmers complaining much, bad crops of everything but wheat, and prices so low.

1858(?) (Undated). In the course of Sir C. de Crespigny's observations he said he believed the county of Essex was peculiarly favoured in this respect (the ladies was his toast) ; he had the pleasure and happiness the other day to witness a lady of high station in this county—Lady R.—present the colors to the West Essex, and her noble bearing and language on the occasion would have done credit to any lady in any part of England. He did not think they could have found in any part of the country a lady who could have gone through that ordeal like Lady Rayleigh (cheers).

My very dear Clara, I don't think Sir Claude said more than he really thought, for I do not think it could have been done better by anyone in the country (not county). I often feel I ought not to commend you so much as I would, because I think your infirmity is to be too greedy of praise, but on this occasion I am so indebted to you that I think I should not withhold my opinion. If any one of our neighbours thought me a fool in marrying one so young and moneyless, I can fancy they are now saying " Well she justifies his choice, and we are the fools who condemned him." So the credit you obtained reflects on me also. Therefore I think (tho' very poor just now) I must send a £5 note for the pretty gown you coveted but could refrain from buying.

Undated. I was very much mortified that you should have taken what I wrote in much love and confidence as " condescending " on my part. Of course people did think I was a fool to marry a person whose mother and father were younger than myself ; of course many thought, in my father's lifetime especially, that it would have been wiser to have married someone with a fortune.

I am not aware that the world at large were so well acquainted with you as not to be surprised at your performance. I am much hurt, for, as I never *felt* condescending to you on account of your poverty, I cannot think you accuse me justly, and as you say you don't believe *now* I meant to say anything wounding perhaps I did not mean it on other occasions when you thought I did mean it. I see I must mind what I write. I was rejoicing at the more affectionate nature of our communications, and I really thought that the letter you object to would be very pleasing to you. It certainly was written in much love and pride in and for you. Having now, I hope cleared myself of the imputation, I am very sorry to have hurt your feelings, tho' I cannot see how I did, for to be young and pennyless would cast no reflection on you, but on the contrary shewed that you must have had some other attractions.

Undated. God bless you dearest for your affectionate letter. I did not mean the gown as a *payment* for your success at Chelmsford, but as a token of gratification on my part.

1859. I do not intend to go to London for the meeting of Parliament. I think it will be better on every account that we should pass our wedding day quietly among the children God has given us. May God bless us and preserve us to each other the next ten years, and may each succeeding year be as happy as the last has been.

1859. The chicks are all well ; Ba's earnestness, Dick's sedateness, Charley's merry laugh and Baba's persuasive expressions are as usual. . . . I had Charley in *after* lunch today (I had Dick before). He is so nice and tenderhearted : in a

small way Dick seems the elder son and Charley the prodigal, the former so steady and circumspect, the latter so excitable, so negligent, yet so gracious. God bless them both. They are very different.

Mr. Bernard has informed me that he has accepted Quebec Chapel!! and must go in now! and asked me whether I thought of Ovens. I said I had not because he was not altogether satisfactory, and I did not think you and Lucy would suit.

1859. Lady Vane, and you too, must have misunderstood my letter to her very much if you supposed I meant to say "Stand by for I am holier than thou." I did not mean to infer that I could not be, and was not, worldly in the privacy of my own room and retirement of Terling, and why you should accuse me of being so, when I am making arrangements for death under the sense of pain so without warning brought on me, I must leave, for I cannot understand why you so write. I know myself too well to hold up my conduct as an example to others, but I know also it is my duty as a Father to take care of my children, and if Lady Vane had such a *false* idea of *you*, and of me as to suppose we should like a dancing master for Ba., I thought it absolutely necessary, Ba. going under her roof, to let her know how contrary her feelings were to yours and mine. For much mischief may be conveyed to a girl's mind at Ba's age.

1861. John's going to Cambridge will be an expense, and the Leinster organ, and until July we shall have to live on the produce of my farms as I have but £150 in Hoare's and Sparrow's banks and owe Emily £450, due last January . . . You might with John, before he goes to Cambridge to reside in October, go abroad if you wished it for 6 weeks, but I should not be able to afford your absence in the spring and Autumn both. It is painful for me to be obliged to deny you what I know you like, but times are bad and the children require so much money. I have got to give Uncle Goodday's £1,000 to John when he comes of age. Therefore I should be saving three or four hundred a year to meet that.

1866. Pray don't have a coronet on the brougham. It is *my* carriage, and I should not be able to go about in it and get things cheap with a coronet on it; besides I must not go to unnecessary expense. Farming prospects are worse than ever I knew them, and labour, tell John, getting much dearer and workmen fewer.

LORD RAYLEIGH TO HIS ELDEST SON.

1864. I intend to leave this letter with my will that you may have it as soon as I am dead. I wish to be buried in the simplest manner, no hearse nor carriages, no one invited to my funeral . . . I wish to be carried to the Church by some of my own workmen, who for their remuneration may have a long black cloth coat given them for the occasion. No part of the Church to be put in mourning. I have left your mother as much as I thought the estate could afford, but I trust to you to be generous to her whenever there is occasion . . . There are two pieces of Church preferment, Terling and Little Baddow. I hope that you will never *sell* the presentations, and that you will consider them the most important trusts you are responsible for. Should any of your brothers be *quite qualified*, you will probably not overlook them; to them I trust you will be until they are settled something of a Father. Should your sister ever need your assistance and kindness I am sure she will receive it at your hands. Before I married I worked hard at County business and in the House of Lords; having done so, I thought myself at liberty after my Father's death to attend to my family and estates. I have laid out immense sums on building and repairing farm houses and premises. I think if you wish to be happy you will fulfill your duties in the situation in which God has placed you. I trust you will find both few and light debts, but as there will be very little ready money for you I recommend you to start very economically. . . .

When pressed to have his portrait painted to hang at Terling Place, Lord Rayleigh would refuse on the inadequate grounds that Col. Strutt had had pictures painted of his daughters, but had pointedly—as Lord Rayleigh thought, at least—omitted having his done, and as his father had not thought

it worth doing, out of pique he would not have it done either.¹ There are, however, two contemporary portraits of him ; one is a coloured drawing done in 1828 for Olivia, which is at St. Catherine's [see Plate facing page 84], and the other is a small oil painting once belonging to Mrs. Vicars, which somehow passed out of the possession of the family, and was bought back by Lord Rayleigh in 1935. There is also a somewhat larger oil painting done posthumously from a photograph.

Lord Rayleigh died on June 14th, 1873, after a short illness, at No. 18, Portland Place, which he had taken for the season. He is the last member of the family to be buried in the family vault.

Clara Lady Rayleigh was left Tofts as her dower house, and lived there with her mother until about 1878. They then moved to London, taking a lease of No. 90, Onslow Gardens, which Lady Rayleigh made her home until her death. Her chief interests were religious. She took a great interest too, in her son Charlie's political career, and used to go round his constituency canvassing and speaking for him. She died in 1900 at Nice Cimiez, where she had spent the winter, and is buried in the Churchyard at Terling.

¹ John James Strutt's diary, March 9th and 10th, 1826 : "Gave Olivia my picture by Slater for the trouble she took about Maldon. My Father wished that I had not been drawn as he could not bear to look upon one who had so ill used Him ! I desired O. to keep the picture upstairs, and not to expose it about the house."

CHAPTER XI.

COL. STRUTT'S two daughters, Emily Anne (1790-1865) and Charlotte Olivia (1798-1897), known to younger members of the family as Aunt E. and Aunt O., were very typical products of their age. Essentially simple and sincere, the expressions of emotion and the sentimentalisms which fill their letters and diaries may appear extravagant to us who belong to another generation, but were in them entirely unaffected and unexaggerated.

Emily was born at Toulouse and named after her grandmothers. For the christening Col. Strutt ordered a very fine suit with large buttons, an inch or more in diameter, painted with miniature landscapes. This suit, which is now at Terling Place, he wore on every anniversary of the christening to the last year of his life—a remarkable tribute to his figure. Olivia was eight years younger than her sister.

COL. STRUTT'S MEMORANDUM ON EMILY.

"As a child she was good, pleasant and our darling. We had no other when she was four years; indeed we had no other till she was six years old. This, our happiness, was very naughty when we were encamped at Hastings and my family at Ore Farm, two fields from the camp ground. The woman told me the child was naughty. I took her by the hand into a tent pitched by the side of the house and there I reasoned, and inflicted with my open hand, alternately, till I observed her mind received the warm, kind, pathetic, parental observations I addressed to her. And then after this very painful exercise of my duty I sent her in to her mother, and all in the house esteemed me a cruel man. But I rejoiced in the parental exertions I had made, and well I might for I can most truly say I have never had a moment's uneasiness but always the most respectful, dutious and affectionate conduct"

In 1800 Lady Charlotte wrote her diary: "Emily 10 years old—a good girl, but not much improved in drawing, etc., for want of proper instruction." They were brought up very strictly at home, and Col. Strutt writes:

1825. "Blessed are they who know not wickedness and know not the language conveying indecent or lascivious intimations or allusions, as is the case of your dear sisters who are brought up in total ignorance of what is bad. E. is perfectly so; O's mind with equal good intentions is not quite so firm as E's, but they have been bred and improved and instructed in all innocence and goodness. For that cause I kept them at home and to school they went not."

Emily seems to have been a little more resigned and docile than her younger sister, and resignation was required of them both in full measure, for Col. Strutt was not less domineering in his relations with his daughters than with his son. But daughters in those days were not in the habit of questioning their father's right to direct every action of their lives, and, though Olivia at least seems more than once to have thought his treatment of her unreasonable (which it certainly was), she believed that her duty lay in submitting herself to his unreason.

In 1808 Emily was launched into the gay Society of Regency London,

presented at court by her mother. Lady Charlotte was in "yellow sarsenet with drapery of Brussels lace ; head-dress, feathers and pearl," and Miss Strutt in a "white satin petticoat, pink crape draperies beautifully ornamented with bunches of white lilac ; head-dress—five ostrich feathers with pearls and diamonds."

DUCHESS OF LEINSTER TO LADY LUCY FOLEY, MAY 11TH, 1808.

"I can't end my letter without telling you how famously Charlotte is dashing away at Assemblies and Balls till *five* in the morning with Emily who enjoys it *not a little*, and Strutt with a face full of glee watching her ; they dress her very well, and I am told every body asks ' Who is that pleasant looking Girl ? '

"Charlotte has a very decent looking Cap : the present fashions of satin and velvet are very lucky for her. As to gowns she has plenty, having opened the stores that were laid in in Paris near *twenty* years ago, and the pretty Paris silks are now quite in fashion."

In 1817 Emily and Olivia accompanied their parents on a tour in France, and had their portraits painted in Paris by an artist named Brall. Here Emily had a romance with a certain M. Beaurain de Cerancourt, which came to nothing. Olivia was probably the better looking of the two sisters, with a Grecian nose and a good profile. In her old age, seeing a great nephew regarding her face closely, she said : "Are you looking at my nose ? In my youth it was much admired." She had several affairs of the heart, of which one in 1824 with Mr. Edward Foley, M.P., of Stoke Edith Park, in Herefordshire, nearly led to marriage. Thus Col. Strutt writes to his son in that year :

"Foley, who I have a good opinion of as to his religion and morality, has been attentive to your sister, and expresses joy at the prospect of seeing us all at Stoke this year, and was unbounded in his request to Sir E. Baker as of our family . . . Mr. Foley did almost make the question to your sister, requesting permission to come saying ' May I be permitted to come again to Terling Place ' last year after the short time of two or three weeks."

Exactly why this came to nothing we do not know ; the next passage from her journal of three years later is not altogether clear but indicates that she had decided to accept him to please her father, but that when he proposed she turned him down.

"Left Gloucester over the bridge and taking the Ledbury Road where once we proceeded so gaily and merrily ! But now I feel returning to a Worcester meeting, to all these scenes, as unpleasant, and do not enjoy the thoughts of going through them again under present circumstances : but I mean not to think but to act, to be gay and pleasant to everybody, especially to Mr. Foley if he attends the meeting—I cannot imagine that three years have passed since the day we drove here, the day on which I remember thinking my fate was decided, having in my own mind decided to decide !!—and whether my pride has really been the cause and *only* cause of things turning out so differently to what we expected I think I still feel it not positive, when I consider the nature of the person ; but it is still my fault to have so behaved, and my conscience always smites me at having been, at least in some measure, the destroyer of pleasure and satisfaction to my dear Papa."

Another enigmatic passage occurs in her journal of 1839 :

"The ruins of Caerphilly Castle are very extensive, and I exerted myself to explore them, being animated by Sir James H. Williams high good humour, my

long acquaintance with him, the recollection of all my recollections attached to him leading me away from present feelings to my days of 20, the gloom of those days softened by the bitterness of late years making those, once sorrowful, rather enlivening thoughts. To Sir James' introduction of a friend to me in 1817 may all my past life of feeling be traced, and mercifully do I ever reflect on the circumstance, which, although casting a gloom over me, kept me from such worldly mindedness amidst gaiety and dissipation as might have quite rendered my life one of vanity and folly."

Here again we are left in the dark as to the details of what was evidently a broken or unfulfilled romance. But as the years went by it must have seemed less and less likely that either of the sisters would marry. Emily was the special favourite of her father, Olivia of her mother, and the devotion shewn by the daughters was unbounded; each felt it a sacred duty as well as a labour of love to surround their parents with attentions and to nurse them in their declining years. It is true that in 1833 Olivia had fallen in love with a Scotch clergyman, the Reverend Robert Drummond (1804-1883), vicar of the neighbouring parish of Feering, and had gone so far as to talk to her father about the possibility of marriage, but he had not taken kindly to the idea. The ostensible barrier appears to have been Drummond's supposed high Church leanings, and such certainly would not have been looked on with favour by the Colonel, but quite apart from any obstacle of this kind he probably had rather grander matrimonial ideas for his daughters. Time passed, but it brought no forgetfulness for Olivia, who pined and fretted until she made herself ill.

HON. C. O. STRUTT'S JOURNALS.

1833. "I could not feel justified in quitting Mama for my own amusement, though I often think I could be a pleasanter companion if I was sometimes a little roused and excited, for I feel my spirit at times so old from leading always the life of an old person. Quietness and repose are the pleasures of advanced life, and yet age likes to have around it the lightness and joyousness of youth or Womanhood."

1836. "We came to London; Mama was very unwell the whole time and I was so wretchedly out of spirits and unwell in consequence that I entered as little as possible into a London life which we are now too old for."

1838. "My heart sank in seeing Leamington grown so large a town, and to think of trying to idle and lounge away some weeks in it. If I can sit quiet with my books and occupation I mind not the place, but I think in trying to pass the time. I seem solitary and unkind in remaining within, and with this life I grow wretched low and miserable."

1839. "My heart and my spirits flag so miserably here, for in fact it is in loneliness alone that I feel happy, for in Society I am very lonely also, but there I see and here things about me, and all family feels and family distresses are obliged to be discarded, but when we three or four are together they press upon my heart and temper. Such this morning and tomorrow have we to encounter here, and Papa has something which seems to disturb him. O Papa, if you would give up your own opinions and yield to the making your children happy in their own way now that they have so little of this world left to pass through, you would be so much happier than you are; they being contented and happy, would give you nothing but pleasure, but, when their whole life is one of struggle to conquer self, to yield to patience and submission at the cost of every wish, it is so difficult; a religious content may reign at last, but the struggle is ever distressing to them. How blessed it is to look to futurity, when all tears shall be wiped from our eyes, and the more we have been tried here the more we shall be comforted hereafter!

"It does seem as if we ought to be a happy family, feeling too that one of the number is in supreme rest though we miss her here, but somehow we ever have been, and seem destined ever to be destroyers to ourselves of the mercies of a kind Providence. In this state of mind I have absented myself upstairs and am more comfortable."

At length, in 1840, Col. Strutt thought fit to withdraw his opposition to Mr. Drummond. The following undated letter relating the history of her feelings must have been written by Olivia shortly after the Colonel had reopened the subject; her mood is one of such intense emotion as to make parts of it rather difficult to follow.

HON. C. OLIVIA STRUTT TO LORD RAYLEIGH.

My dearest kindest Brother,

In a few words I will tell you all. In April 1834 I was to give a decided answer for Papa and dearest Mama did not object at first. I told Dear Papa of his now objection existing. To venture to decide on such a point I felt awful. I fell on my knees. I went downstairs and told them "yes" if they pleased. I knew not that I cared so very much. Then, when I lost his society, I was lost. Still I thought not of resistance, yet no rest could I find. I prayed and prayed for resignation and relief. For a year I strove to hide it all until I seemed that I could bear no longer. I thought my parents ought to be my confidants, and then my supporters and comforters; to lay every failing of my heart open to them was no crime, and with fervent prayers I wrote to Papa—it was received with severity. This was in 1835.

My next year followed. I never slept. My nights and days passed in prayer: as soon as light came my Bible was my resource. Temptation being sore upon me, yet I prayed to be God's Child, to have *his Will done, not mine*, that my heart might solely be God's, and that my heart's desire might only be granted to me if according to God's Will for my spiritual good, and that in the flesh I might have grace to bear any cross that God saw good for me.

Still another request to Papa beset me, and I made it with fervent prayer. His reply gave me a liberty, but so that I could not do it; nor would I then because of Dear Mama's illness. This was August 1836.

Afterwards I did think of claiming that liberty, and Emily's entreaties stopped me, for she said Dearest Mama told her that Papa would never know a day's peace. So I committed myself to pray again for patience, grace and resignation. In 1837 I was so ill Papa consulted Dr. Nevins. I then told Papa the cause of my illness. I wrote to him, but said that if he would not consent I should rest as I was, and could only hope that if he was still fighting against my happiness the Providence of God would in time govern his mind for my relief.

Dr. N's kindness in ordering indulgence, which Papa gave and allowed me, to be quiet from the world for these nearly three years had gradually brought my mind into peace and comfort and such firm reliance on God's help to me that I have been very easy, and by poor Papa's illnesses I had opportunities of showing him those attentions and softnesses that won me back to his heart, and his expressions towards me have often sent me to my knees with thankfulness for such a blessing, and the pain of the purchase in my obedience to him even I was grateful for.

Thus I have rested, and time passed on, and I felt time had done much, and that I was now too old, and was content to be thus for ever. For no one else could I think my duty to God would permit me to accede to of those who came in my way. I came home this year really settled in mind.

What was I then to think on being suddenly, while endeavouring to chat and amuse Papa, offered to have this done, and himself to enter on it with the zeal of his own kind chusing?

The joy that came over me was extreme, I could not say no, and also I felt I could not refuse to let him [Drummond] have a chance of this happiness if he *still* wished it, which he might not. I told Papa I would give him my answer the next

day, for I felt I must go to my God. Then I was seized with such joy and delight that nothing but thanks and praise could come from me. I thought it so wonderful an event. It seemed such an answer to fervent prayer which had at last rested in trust on God, that I thought I must follow the leading, and I told Papa the next day how happy I had been. It seems he has settled we are to visit and meet as old acquaintances, and the result of that we must await. I have amidst my joy I believe truly prayed to God to keep me, and that I may do only his Will. I do feel that having by his grace been kept faithful in Parental Obedience this may be a trial for further obedience, but it is the most extraordinary answer to prayer that I can conceive. If our acquaintance goes on I will openly talk on these subjects, and state my own views decidedly. This will call forth his, and I will be on my guard. I remember my dearest Mother's words, "Are you sure he is such a clergyman as you would like?"

Thank you dearest boy, and may our dearest Father's mind be brought to give all his children that which is for their good.

Your grateful and affectionate

O.S.

According to family tradition Mr. Drummond, when approached by the Colonel, intimated that in the six years which had elapsed his ardour had cooled, and made it plain that if he were now to marry the settlements would have to be handsome. Whether this tradition is true or not, the Colonel's financial arrangements (£20,000 down and £10,000 at his death) were presumably considered satisfactory. Drummond was five years younger than Olivia, and his father, Sir Adam Drummond, in giving his approval remarked that this disparity in their ages was the only drawback to the marriage. They were married at Terling Church on January 19th, 1841. One of Olivia's bridesmaids was a Miss Oakley, and she must have lived to a good age for she was able to describe the scene in a letter written in 1912. She says:

"This day 71 years ago I officiated as one of the dear Olivia's bridesmaids. On entering the Church Col. Strutt, in court dress tempo. George III, turned round and addressing the two grown up Miss Bakers said in a decided tone 'Take Miss Oakley between you,' and so we marched after kindest Olivia to find R. D. with his best man (such a curious one to have, being a married man) Mr. Eden afterwards Bishop, erect at the Altar rails. How well I see the whole thing now! Every lady, I believe, more or less in awe of Col. Strutt except our mother whom he thought a good deal of, as did everyone in Essex."

The wedding breakfast was held at Terling Place, and when it was over the bride and groom left for Rayleigh House, Southend, where they spent their honeymoon before taking up residence in Feering Vicarage.

Feering is a small agricultural parish, and the vicarage is a pleasant gabled house, rather large for modern ideas of convenience, looking out over the Churchyard. They evidently altered the house considerably in the course of their stay there, for Olivia notes in her diary (1850): "Went over to see our new Feering Vicarage; very much amused at the change to an old antique house. Mr. Drummond satisfied. Chimnies rather too tall." Mr. Drummond was a sporting parson: he was no stranger to the Terling partridges, and when he went to Scotland with Olivia, as he did each autumn, he made the most of his fishing opportunities. They made occasional tours abroad. A sidelight on the social conditions of the day is afforded by the fact that the Feering schoolmaster was also their gardener, and a very bad one they found him too; also they used to celebrate Christmas Day by dining

in the kitchen. It is interesting to read in Olivia's diaries that summer days were quite spoilt for her by "overpowering" hay fever, which has afflicted at least one member of the family in each succeeding generation. Her diaries shew that her life at Feering was extremely uneventful; that it was altogether too dull for her taste was the diagnosis of her brother, as the following passages from his letters testify.

LORD RAYLEIGH TO HON. E. A. STRUTT.

Nov. 15, 1842. Clara sees Mr. Drummond's peculiarities and attacks him playfully, and you would be *surprised* at the plain speeches Olivia sometimes makes him. I think Clara has shewn her that her method of deferential manner was not as successful as laughing and joking upon his Scotticisms.

Dec. 14, 1842. "I think Olivia is looking as well as usual. She is getting round shouldered and looks old in her figure, I think, but perhaps it arises from my eyes being now accustomed to such greater youth—but I consider her quite well. She is certainly not in the family way, and tells Clara she does not now expect it, tho' I believe there is no physical impossibility. She speaks more openly to Clara than to me and seems, to my surprise, rather to like Clara's attacking Drummond for letting her drive out alone and not telling her the news of his parish etc. And he laughs and enjoys being taunted with Scotch coldness, caution etc.

Jan. 11, 1843. "It is very strange but Drummond does not make any use of O. in his parish. She takes perhaps more than she did, but he does not *give* more. Clara tells him many a truth in jest, which he does not dislike for he is evidently partial to her."

Undated. 1843. "Olivia is quite glad to get these peeps in London. The fact is she has not so much to do at Feering as at Terling, and her active mind wants more employment, for though she has crept on *a little* in parish matters D. has an unaccountable dislike to her being occupied with the parish. Feering is the worst managed parish in the Witham Union and the people apparently most distressed."

Sept. 19, 1843. "Yesterday we went over to Feering and staid dinner. They were both well, and we think they are happier than last year."

Undated. 1844. "... Tractarian, which is the teaching which leads to Rome. Drummond, Clara and I think, is much less so than he was."

Meanwhile Emily, since her mother's death, had become more than ever necessary to her father as companion and nurse, and his letters show that he appreciated her untiring devotion and unselfishness: (1836) "Check her in kindness when goodnature is conducting her beyond the reason of the thing, whatever it may be. She has been my slave I may say now for upwards of 30 years, and I have never had occasion to reprove her for any conduct towards me since she was 4 years old only." She went into exile with her father when he withdrew to Bath in 1840, but although she never breathed a word of criticism to him she could not help showing something of her unhappiness at being separated from home and family.

HON. E. A. STRUTT TO HON. MRS. DRUMMOND.

June 15, 1841. "Did I ever tell you how much our absence is deplored by *the Family*? They say there is such a want of something, that they miss something so much. Some say Mary Ross ought to take the place. But she never could make her house what ours was. She has not so numerous acquaintance, and her house would never be [a centre for] reunion not only of the family but of various connexions and acquaintance, and London people as ours was—besides the good dinners and soirées Papa gave. Now there is no point of reunion and this they miss. Even



EMILY ANNE STRUTT, 1790-1865



CHARLOTTE OLIVIA ELIZABETH STRUTT, MRS. ROBERT DRUMMOND,
1798-1897



the few days I was in London they were astonished at the acquaintance I had ; as I drove with the Rosses, the Foulis etc., they were continually saying, ' Why, Emily knows everyone—Who is that, Emily ? ' etc., etc. I thought too that I came very poky from Terling, but everything I wore was so admired. ' There's Emily always so smart, such beautiful things,' etc., etc. (*Entre nous*, clean gloves was the *great* secret.)"

June, 1842. " . . . She told me she stood aghast on first seeing me at my pale looks, but, dear Olivia, I suspect I had been crying a great deal about that time, for when I find our stay from Essex etc., etc., prolonged the tears will flow."

At Bath they lived in various houses in the town during the five years preceding the Colonel's death. In 1840 there were rumours that Emily was going to get engaged to Lord James O'Brien, but in 1844 Col. Strutt writes to his brother :

" I know no one who has paid attention to my good Emily, and I do not believe she fancies any as having paid particular attention to her. Her happiness in my mind is superior, greatly superior, to my own comfort. My days must be few, hers in comparison many, and how it would *rejoyce* me if I left her in a belief that her days may be pleasant and all her paths peace. It has been my real wish that she should go into Essex and live there, for I know how greatly her warm and affectionate heart is with her sister and brother.

" I am now planted in a small house where everything is at hand, and I have a good little housemaid, a young woman for a cook, and a footman ; these 3 are attentive. Emily's maid and a groom make up our establishment. For my dear Emily's sake I give dinners and they, I believe, are liked, and Emily visits the best of the old women here, who like unto me are well connected and have lived in the world.

" Yet that does not satisfy me for my patient and dutious Emily. I have confidence that the Almighty, who knows her goodness, will give her days of joyous gratitude to the end of her days. If anything of the sort you hinted at was conjectured by me, I would communicate with you for I know you to be very discreet."

When it became clear to Col. Strutt that Emily was not going to marry, he set about finding a house for her to live in when he should be gone. With this object in view he bought St. Catherine's Court and 257 acres of land for £16,150 in 1840. He is said to have been influenced in his choice by the sentimental consideration that from St. Catherine's he could look out across the valley to " The Rocks," the home of his early love, Miss Horlock. The house had been used by a farmer and was in a very bad state of repair. In the succeeding years it was a great source of interest to father and daughter, to plan the alterations and decorations to the house and church, and to drive the five miles from Bath to St. Catherine's to supervise the work. The repairs cost far more than had been anticipated and were not quite finished at Col. Strutt's death.

COLONEL STRUTT TO GENERAL STRUTT.

March, 1842. " My daily concern is the privation to my good Emily. We are concerned in making St. Catherine's Court House habitable, which is in a great measure accomplished, and if I find that Emily does really wish to make it her summer residence, then I shall finish all for her comfort, and if she does not fancy it, then it may be let with 27 acres of land—the most part of the land is excellent, the tenant gives £2. 4. 6. an acre. It is not a purchase to be lamented ; allowing £500 for repairs in addition to the purchase price it pays now 3½%."

April, 1842. "Emily and I go on quietly, but I lament her privation. I can make the old house comfortable for her if she should please to reside there. She seems to take an interest in it, and, the having a home at no expense of consequence will be advantageous that in kindness she may visit her sister and brother, and not remain so as to make her visits as a convenience to herself, but solely as a matter of affection to the three."

June, 1842. "I am going on in the repairing of St. Catherine's; it will be a most comfortable residence for Emily if she chuses. I tell her she need not reside there but let it or not."

Emily's heroism in rescuing her father from the fire which was the indirect cause of his death, has already been described. The burns which she received on both her hands, her shoulders, throat, face, forehead and ears were extremely severe and for several days it was by no means certain that she would survive; indeed the doctor still thought her life in danger a full fourteen days after the fire. The dressing of the burns, which took between one and two hours, every day, caused her untold agony, but she bore the pain in silence while prayers were read aloud to her. So swollen was her face a fortnight after the fire that she could not open her eyes, and even when she could open them some days later she saw so dimly that it was feared that her sight might be permanently impaired. Eventually she made a complete recovery, but she was disfigured for the rest of her life.

After her father's death Emily's devotion was directed into another channel; her nephews and niece took his place as the centre of her life. St. Catherine's was too far from Terling to give her scope for playing the part of the indulgent aunt as fully as her kind heart urged: but at General's Strutt's death she inherited his property in Southend, and in 1849 she took a twenty-one years' lease of Tofts from her brother in order to be still nearer to Terling, although St. Catherine's remained her headquarters.

To this period of her life belongs a story about "Aunt E.," which used to be told by her nephews with great glee in after years. She was staying at Terling Place with her brother and sister-in-law one Christmas not many years after their marriage. Then, as now, when dinner was ended a bowl of punch brewed according to a special Terling recipe, was brought in and ladled out by Lord Rayleigh into small tumblers. Lady Rayleigh, who was the first to be served, took a sip and immediately put her tumbler down, complaining to her husband that the punch tasted very nasty and saying that she thought there must be something the matter with it. "Aunt E." was a little piqued at hearing this disparagement of an old Terling institution from her young sister-in-law. She determined to uphold its honour to the best of her power, and as soon as her turn came she drained her tumbler to the bottom and, immediately had it refilled, commenting at the same time on the excellence of the brew. When all had been served, Lord Rayleigh sipped from his own glass and at once remarked that his wife was quite right, for the so-called punch was not punch at all, but pure brandy. The most extraordinary part of the story is that "Aunt E.", who had by now finished her second glass of the neat spirit, never betrayed by a sign all through the evening that she had drunk anything more intoxicating than water—a veritable triumph of mind over matter!

Emily had enough money to run all her three houses in comfortable style,

and she divided the last twenty years of her life between them, a life without much incident perhaps, but unselfish to the end. The house at Southend might be lent in the summer months to a Fitzgerald cousin, who wanted a seaside place in the holidays for his young family; Tofts was always open to the family when Terling was spring-cleaned, or in any emergency; St. Catherine's was a place of delight to more than one generation of nephews and nieces. For instance, one day little Dick found that by walking along the edge of the steep terraces in the garden there he could so frighten "Aunt E." for his safety, that she would bribe him to come away: it was not long before Charlie was initiated into this simple way of earning sixpence. Her generosity was extended in full measure to her brother in the bad times that were beginning to fall on farming towards the end of her life.

As a last example of her devotion to her family at the age of seventy-two, it is worth quoting Lord Rayleigh's diary (1863): "My dear boy Edward taken ill with scarlet fever. I confess I have evil forebodings concerning his recovery. My unselfish and self-denying Emily means to shut herself up with him during his illness. O God, for Christ's sake bless them both."

Here are some characteristic passages from her letters:

HON. E. A. STRUTT TO HON. MRS. DRUMMOND.

1841. Only conceive who are the people voting today, those who pay £10 for their houses and let the rooms for perhaps 6d. a week. These are the poor ignorants who are to govern the country. On the radical committee room is a picture of Britannia, holding a cap of liberty, and the railroad people appeared yesterday with *canes* headed *red*. Shocking!

Have you heard, my dear Olivia, that that dear elm in front of the dining room window is blown down! I know you will feel it much. I could not help shedding a tear over its loss.

1842. I am very sorry that the Queen goes by Railway; it is so undignified. I heard an account of the railway dinner at Birmingham. It is magnificent, 50 waiters almost, French cook etc. The train stops 20 minutes and you have whatever you wish in an instant, so hot, so good, and as well served as at a Gentleman's table, but! but! *Her Grace* sits down next chair to *Her Grease*, and My Lord next to his valet.

1842. But what surprised me more than anything was when Ady was here a year ago I said "I wonder why there should be so much variety of opinions etc. when everything is so clear in the 39 Articles, so plain to go by etc." Ady's answer was "How do you *know* the 39 Articles *are* Orthodox?" This opened my mind at once to the danger to be dreaded from Puseyites.

Emily died in 1865, at Feering, while on a visit to her sister, and is buried in the family vault at Terling.

Under Col. Strutt's will St. Catherine's passed to Olivia for her life: in 1866 Drummond resigned his living, and after twenty-five years' residence they said goodbye to Feering and went to live at St. Catherine's. There is little to record of the passing years. Drummond was a selfish man. For instance, he was a slow reader, Mrs. Drummond a quick one. She found that she had to wait so long for a new book that she decided to have a separate subscription to the lending library, and paid for it out of her pin money. But she had **not** read very far into her first book before Drummond remarked

that it looked interesting and said that he would make a point of reading it before it went back to the library. The same thing happened with subsequent books, so that she found that she was no better off than she had been before ! He was also a greedy man : one of his relations remembers that he used to stand over the breakfast dishes as they stood on the sideboard, remove the covers and privately examine their contents ; then, having decided what he himself would eat, he would keep the lid firmly down on that dish and press his wife and guests to partake of the other dishes, so as to leave all of what he wanted for himself. When he died in 1883, the old family butler's comment was " Now the poor dear lady will be able to have a second helping."

She lived on as a widow at St. Catherine's until the age of ninety-nine, and it was a sleepy old-fashioned place in her last years, everything, including the servants, seeming to belong to another age. She taught regularly in the Sunday School, until she was ninety-three years old. A great niece who was staying in the house thought to frighten the old lady by jumping out suddenly from underneath the piano as she passed by, but " Aunt O." did not turn a hair, and only said, " Naughty little girl—and on a Sunday too !" Her sight and hearing remained good until the end, but in her last years she was childish. She died in 1897 and only missed living in three different centuries by a margin of three years. She could remember the funeral of Nelson and the Jubilee of George III, and was present as a young woman at the Coronation of George IV. She well remembered Fox and Pitt, and in particular, her father's grief when the latter died. She is buried beside her husband in the Churchyard at St. Catherine's.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS ON AN EPIDEMIC OF TYPHOID FEVER AT TERLING.

BY DR. R. THORNE THORNE.

Jan. 25, 1868. The Lords of Her Majesty's Council having been informed that a serious and sudden outbreak of fever had occurred in the village of Terling in Essex, I was instructed by their medical officer on the 21st December, 1867 to proceed to the spot in order to examine into the causes and nature of the disease . . .

The country for many miles round is generally flat ; land springs are most plentiful ; water is found in great abundance in ponds and in ditches by the roadside, and the atmosphere is unusually moist. Here, as almost throughout the county, the smallness and scarcity of the streams show that a great portion of the rain that falls penetrates downwards. The village itself, though scattered over an area of several miles is principally collected on the gradually sloping banks of a rivulet named the Ter, which, flowing southwards, empties itself into the Blackwater river ; these banks however are of a very undulating character. Setting aside Terling Place and the Vicarage, hardly anything but labourers' cottages are to be seen throughout the village and these are almost without exception of the poorest description ; many are constructed merely of latli and plaster, connected by beams, with a thatched roof, and the whole fixed on a basis of brickwork ; others consist in great part of wood, which is often in a rotten and worm-eaten state ; some again of more recent date are built of brick.

The inhabitants of Terling present many characteristics of great interest. They are all very poor, the general wages of the men varying year by year from 10/- to 12/- a week, some receiving 13/- and 14/- ; many seldom taste fresh meat, and a few of them only occasionally procure a piece of bacon or a herring. I saw one Sunday dinner table spread only with carrots, turnips and a plain dough pudding, even bread was absent. The ordinary dinner consists of bread and cheese.

Socially, there is nothing that can tend to raise or elevate the people ; no middle-class exists for them to imitate, or to which they can aspire to rise ; there is almost a complete gap between the few wealthy residents and the poor labourer. The population is about 900 and for a long time there has been no variation in this number ; this I was told has been mainly due to the fact that newcomers have not, as a rule, been well-received there, owing to the desire not to increase the parish rates,¹ and the passing of the Union Chargeability Act has not as yet occasioned any difference in this respect. From the description which I received of the villagers it appears also that they have a tendency to isolate themselves, many hardly ever leaving their own parish even to visit a neighbouring village, and hence they intermarry to such an extent that " half the people are related to each other." They are intellectually and physically of a low type ; there are among them eight or nine idiots and imbecile children ; all seem dull of comprehension, and " hardly a well built man is to be seen." An extraordinarily large number of them are the victims of phthisis and scrofula ; this may be partly accounted for by the moisture of the soil and the atmosphere and the entire absence of all drainage. Ague was very prevalent throughout the neighbourhood until about the year 1840, but it is now only seen on rare occasions. There is much intemperance in the place, illegitimate children abound, sometimes many in one family, and so distinguishing a merit is it deemed for a girl to marry without being pregnant, that to each such bride a principal benefactress of the village² is in the habit of giving a special wedding gift.

¹ See page 79

² Lady Rayleigh

At Terling all the nuisances which are generally associated with outbreaks of typhoid fever exist in great and unusual abundance, and all that is necessary to produce contamination of air, soil and water is to be found throughout the village. The cottages are literally surrounded by every species of nuisance that it is possible to conceive; slops and ashes are thrown down on the unpaved yards and gardens; manure heaps, cesspools and masses of decaying vegetable matter lie round about. The privies, none of which have a properly constructed tank for the reception of faecal matter, are in many instances in a most dilapidated state, and owing to their being frequently constructed of wood, the back is in part broken away, and the filth lies in masses on the ground, or else is collected in large holes that have been dug for that purpose; and as Lord Rayleigh has granted allotments of ground to his tenants, they cherish and store up these foul accumulations, nominally for the purpose of manure, until they assume a magnitude which none but those who have seen them can believe in. Surrounding one cottage, and within a circumference of 20 feet of it, I found one pigstye, three manure heaps, two cesspools and a privy, the contents of which extended about 12 feet down an adjoining field.

In the central part of the village each cottage, or each group of two or three, has its own well, and if the ground is at all undulating it is invariably placed at the lowest point. These wells, which are all sunk in the gravel, are as a rule uncovered and are merely lined with bricks placed loosely one above another without any cement or plaster; their depth, which varies from about 5 feet to 40 feet, agrees with the increase in the rise of ground. On a higher level than these wells and everywhere surrounding them lie the various nuisances just enumerated, and since the soil is of a very loose and porous nature and one which easily admits of the percolation of fluids, the closeness of such sources of contamination to the cottagers' drinking water is seen to be fraught with the greatest danger. Some of the cottages lying in the outskirts of the village have no wells, and those who reside in them are therefore compelled to fetch their drinking water from ponds in the adjoining fields. All the drainage from the field ditches, and at times from the roadsides, runs into them, the cattle frequent them, and in summer they are, to use the expression of a resident "nothing better than stinking pools." In only one instance did I find that the river water was used for drinking purposes, but in this case at a point where the stream was little better than a sewer.

Overcrowding is almost everywhere met with, and at the present time it exists in its worst form; two and three fever patients are frequently seen lying in one bed, while several of their healthy relatives occupy the same room. In one instance, I found a woman suffering from the epidemic disease occupying with six of her family a bedroom measuring only 10 feet by 9½ feet by 6 feet high: the chimney was blocked up and the only window was less than 3 feet square. Here each individual had less than 82 cubic feet of air, and ventilation was, as indeed almost everywhere, entirely neglected.

The epidemic from which Terling is suffering is well marked typhoid fever. Cases of this disease, Dr. Gimson states, have been seen about the village for five years (his knowledge does not extend further back) and in Dec. 1862 and the early part of 1863 about 40 cases and 5 deaths occurred; since then occasional instances have been met with, and during the past year at least one case has been seen every second or third month. The present outbreak is most alarming both in its magnitude and in the suddenness of its occurrence. Almost entire families are attacked, a father only remaining in some instances to nurse and attend to his wife and a large family of sick children. The disease is of unusual severity, the characteristic rose spots are very abundant, and hæmorrhage from the bowels exists in a large number of cases; great prostration of the nervous power is evident from the first day of the affection, and in some instances the patient seems to be almost instantly overwhelmed with the intensity of the poison. A woman who is at her washtub one day is dead three days after; a girl, strong and hearty at the commencement of the week, passes rapidly into a state of insensibility and dies in a few days, before the special characteristics of the disease have had time to manifest themselves. On the 13th of January, 1868, 208 persons had already been attacked

by the prevailing malady, and several fresh cases were daily occurring. I do not include in my number cases of so-called diarrhœa (possibly all mild cases of typhoid fever) which were only accidentally heard of and which probably were numerous, though not of sufficient severity to call for medical relief.

With one exception hereafter to be mentioned, the disease seems to date from Dec. 4th. During the following ten days 30 fresh cases were seen, but on the 15th, 16th and 17th, by far the largest number were attacked, 22, 19 and 12 cases occurring respectively on those days. After this, though the daily number of fresh cases was by no means so large, still a steady increase took place. The villagers were everywhere alarmed, for owing to the many intermarriages everyone had several relatives attacked, some dangerously so. As yet, however, only one death had taken place, namely on Dec. 14th; but when the third week of the epidemic had arrived a steady and gradually increasing death rate commenced, and on the 30th, 12 of the patients had died and others were dying. Terling was now completely panic-stricken, and the moral effect of the tolling of the church-bell at the death and funeral of the parishioners seemed so prejudicial not only to the sick but also to those who still remained unaffected, that I thought it right to suggest to the vicar the immediate discontinuance of that ordinary custom. Women with tears flowing down their cheeks called from their cottage doors for help, and everyone seemed to dread the prevailing disease. No class of persons was exempt; the rich, the well fed and clad, were attacked in common with the poor and destitute. At Lord Rayleigh's residence 10 cases had occurred, the Vicar's house was a seat of the epidemic, and from one end of the village to the other the disease seemed to be almost evenly spread.

Age and sex seemed to present remarkable peculiarities; thus out of 145 cases whose ages I was enabled to obtain, 79 were children under 14 years of age, and of the remaining 66, 50 were females, leaving only 16 males whose ages exceeded 14 years out of the entire number attacked. This I believe to be accounted for by the fact that the men and the majority of the boys over 14 years of age spend the greater portion of their time away from home labouring in the fields, and that they principally drink beer, whereas the women and children are left at home and procure a considerable portion of their beverage from the wells; the children drinking from them direct much more frequently than the women, owing to the latter consuming a good deal of tea, in the making of which the water is of course boiled . . .

The general tendency of the evidence which I obtained is to the effect that the water supply of Terling was the great infective influence, and it will be observed that some of the following cases not only conduce to that general conclusion, but also seem very definitely to connect the outbreak of the disease with a particular change in the level of the surface water. Everywhere I was informed that the water in the wells had gradually sunk during the latter part of the summer and autumn; in the shallow ones this had been unmistakeably seen, in some of the deep ones I found that the rope holding the bucket had to be let out to an unusual length, and in one instance I was told that after the latter had been lowered into the well such was the scarcity of water that it had to be oscillated to and fro in order to get any in. The date at which the water reached its lowest point varied according to the altitude on which the well was placed, and also to its depth. One had been empty two months preceding my visit, a second three weeks, in others the water had been gradually sinking until the latter end of November. Following this drought came a sudden flow of water into all the wells, and this I was generally informed took place about three or four weeks before I arrived at the village . . . During my visit I carefully examined every well throughout the village, and I found that with very few exceptions they were all so placed that the water they contained could easily become contaminated . . . It is evident that for years the land springs supplying the village must have washed the foul materials which had soaked through the ground into the wells, although, owing to the water being very abundant, the contaminated solution thus formed was very much diluted. In connection with this I would call attention to the statement which I have made **to the effect that typhoid fever had existed in Terling for at least five years.** . . .

Recently, however, although the soakage of filth into the ground has been going on, there has been a deficiency in the water supply ; that filth must therefore have accumulated until the rise in the surface water took place, when the whole would naturally be washed from the surrounding ground into the wells, and thus give rise to an intensely saturated solution. Great interest therefore attaches to the ætiological relation which exists between this very severe epidemic of typhoid fever and the state of the water supply ; and it deserves the more notice because the facts observed are not in accordance with those noticed in Munich by Professor Buhl of that city ; for the outbreak of the disease did not coincide with the periods when the wells were low, but on the contrary evidently dated from a time when the water was regaining a high level

The necessary works to supply pure drinking water had been ordered by the vestry of Terling in consequence of a letter which, in accordance with my instructions, I had addressed to them ; and by way of preventing a recurrence of the disease by the well water becoming saturated with the contents of privies, Lord Rayleigh informed me that he was supplying all his cottages, that is to say 78 out of the 164 in the village, with properly constructed bricked cesspools lined with cement, and effectually covered over.

Feb. 4th, 1868. Fortunately for the villagers immense private efforts have been made for their relief. Terling Place has been, to use the expression of an inhabitant, " an open house " ; wine, brandy, beef tea, milk and luxuries have been liberally supplied from that residence, and Dr. Gimson, who has without official obligation given up almost all his time in attending to the sick, informed me that at Lord and Lady Rayleigh's expense the poor were provided with every requisite, and had their linen washed for them. In addition to this, as the Nuisance Authority has made no attempt to remedy the overcrowding, Lord Rayleigh has fitted up the village school as a convalescent hospital for children ; they were brought to it in a covered waggon, and on their arrival they were stripped and washed, then entirely re-clothed with garments provided by private individuals, and placed under the care of a lady nurse. Sisters from St. Margaret's Home, East Grinstead, were superintending the nursing throughout the village, and spending their nights with the most dangerous cases.

Alfred Havilland, M.R.C.S., while in general he shares Dr. Thorne's opinion that the well water was responsible for the infection, says¹ :

" The first case of fever that occurred was at the dairy farm, the subject being the daughter of Lord Rayleigh's gardener, who had just returned from a visit to Frome in Somersetshire ; where, however, according to a letter from Mr. S. J. Parsons, bearing date of Jan. 4th, 1868, fever has not lately been epidemical, though there have been 5 or 6 cases in the Union. It is very evident that whether the disease has been imported to Terling or not, the place was well prepared either to foster a fever germ coming from without, or engender any amount out of the abundant materials which have been accumulating around its dwellings. The peculiarity of the outbreak of fever is its suddenness, and wherever I went the dairy farm seemed to be the point considered as the *focus et origo mali*. It appears that from here milk is supplied to all the village, and that twice a day at least there is hardly a family some member of which does not visit it. Lord Rayleigh's household is supplied therefrom, and so is the humblest cotter's. Some of his Lordship's servants have been struck down, and one has died . . . "

Yet Mr. Havilland takes the same general view as Dr. Thorne that the well water is responsible. With regard to Terling Place he says :

" I was asked a very pertinent question—how was it that the rich and poor men were affected alike ? I simply replied that I believed that the fever field was

¹ " Special report on the epidemic at Terling," dated 8th January, 1868, from the *Medical Times and Gazette*.

as well cultivated in Terling Place as in the lowest hovel in Terling village. My experience leads me always to look with suspicion upon the drainage of great old houses; let the occupiers do what they will in many instances, still something always seems to be left behind."

It must be remembered that at the time of the outbreak the germ theory of disease was not at best more than a vague speculation, far less could specific bacteria of disease be identified in any sample of water or milk. It was probably not realized that milk *could* carry the infection. Dr. Havilland says that everywhere he went the dairy farm was considered the *focus et origo mali*; and Dr. Thorne, too, states that the first case occurred here, and discusses the possibility that the milk might have been diluted with the river water, the latter being infected by sewage.

These facts seem to allow of quite a different interpretation, not considered by anyone at the time. In all contemporary opinion bad water, containing sewage extract, was responsible, whether drunk from the river, the wells, or (possibly) the milk diluted with river water. Admittedly, the first case of fever occurred at the dairy. Admittedly, from there milk was supplied to all the village, and if we assume that this milk was contaminated with typhoid bacteria, then all the facts fall into line. The alternative view which directly blames the water presents serious difficulties. Why do all the various water sources become infected simultaneously? Emphasis, it is true, is laid on the fact that many of the wells had been dry, and that the water first rising in them after a drought might be supposed to be specially contaminated. Perhaps this explanation might pass to explain the simultaneous contamination of several wells in the village. But for the well at Terling Place a different explanation is appealed to, namely, the direct leakage through the well walls of sewage from above, and, again, the infection of the river water, which is specially emphasized, cannot be covered by this explanation. Surely it would be a staggering coincidence if all these sources were infected simultaneously. It is much simpler to regard the milk as responsible. Apparently it was not then realized that milk could be infected, unless by admixture of a considerable amount of river water. Dr. Thorne was forced to dismiss the milk explanation. The necessary clue, afforded by the knowledge that typhoid is due to a living organism which can breed in milk, was wanting.

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1677—1702=THO TH, dau. of Young of
Mar. 1718.

ung SARAH, of Ne
0— Terling, 1704
Bur. at Terlin

THOMAS STRUTT=ELIZABETH, dau. of John Ingold
of Springfield Mill. of Woodham Walter.
c. 1722—1751. 1780. Mar. 1743.

JOHN, SARAH,
1726— 1728—

THOMAS,
1744—

EATON,
airsted.

ELIZABETH,
1745—

JOSEPH STRUTT,=ANNE, dau. of Barwell
1749—1802. Blower of Bocking,
—1778. Mar. 1774.

WILLIAM GOO ZABETH,
Governor of Q0.

AUGUSTUS.

MATILDA, dau. of
Kendall. Mar. 1800.

WILLIAM THOMAS,
1777—1850.

HAMMEL INGOLD,
Capt. R.N., 1804—

WILLIAM,
1821—

WILLIAM,
1821—

MATILDA,
1825—

WILLIAM= SARAH AGNES
STRUTT of HAGUE, 1823
Wadhurst — . Mar.
—1915. 1853,

CHARLES HEDLEY,=F
P., of Blunts Hall, F
ham, 1849— p
6.

BETH, dau. of J. Knight.

ALFRED WILLIAM= NELLIE, dau.
STRUTT of Wad- of D. R. Ketch-
hurst, 1856— lee.

=FRANCIS DEVERELL.

AN-
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OMLEY
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GERA=COL.
MUR. WILLIAM
1880- FREDERICK
r. PARSONS,
1879—

COL.
WILLIAM
FREDERICK
PARSONS,
1879—

RAYLEIGH=VERONICA,
G. STRUTT. dau. of Rev.
H. St.
Helier
Evans.

VERONICA,
dau. of Rev.
H. St.
Helier
Evans.

CECIL DOREEN.
WIL-
LIAM, —
1902. MARGARET.

CECIL DOREEN.
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LIAM, —
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JAM
HECK,
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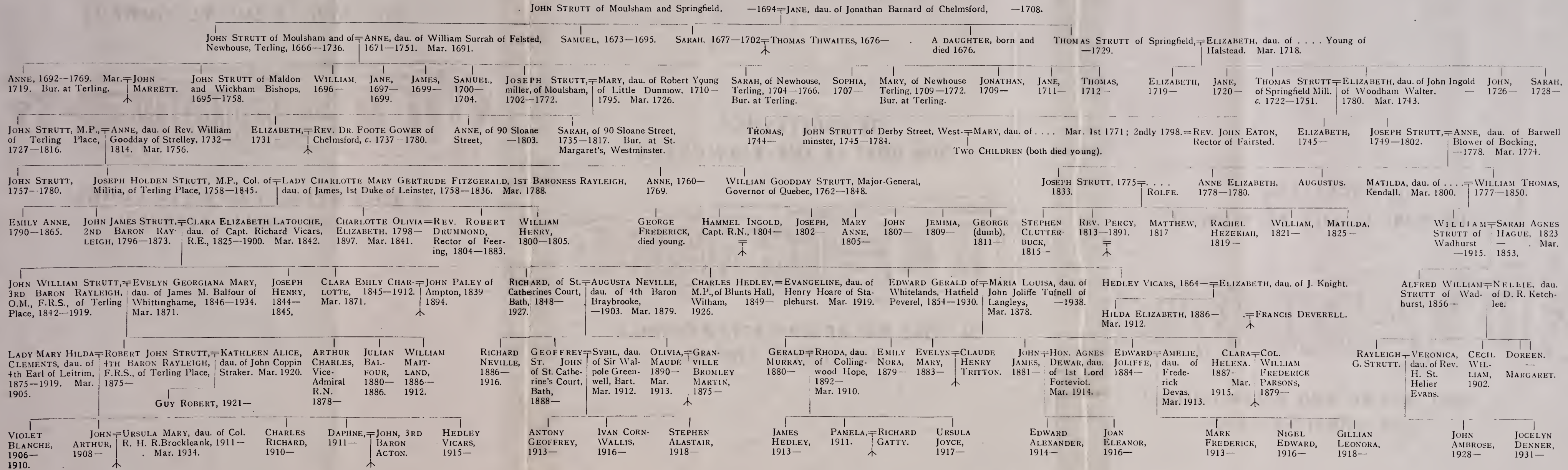
NIGEL
EDWARD,
1916—

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